

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Section tickler

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: October 7, 1955

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

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SYNOPSIS:

Enclosed you will find the yellow copy of the research study made on The Fund for the Republic, Inc., pursuant to the Director's request. The study itself extends to 142 pages. It is preceded by a 29-page Summary and Conclusions and a 1-page Introduction.

The essence of the study is this: (1) The Fund was not originated by either Communists or pro-Communists and is not now controlled or dominated by such persons; (2) the Fund is using the services of persons, some of whom have in the past participated in the activities of the Communist Party, USA, and Communist front organizations and still others have been or are connected with socialist groups; (3) the Fund has gathered around itself a surprising number of persons who have long been critical of or have given opposition to (a) Federal loyalty programs, (b) Congressional investigative committees, (c) state investigative committees, (d) loyalty oaths, (e) deportations, (f) the Smith Act, (g) the Attorney General's list, et cetera -- in short, persons who say they are not pro-Communists but do not like the measures taken to combat Communism; (4) the Fund claims that it bases itself on the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution and as such is a champion of civil liberties; (5) the Fund is convinced that the Cold War anti-Communist measures have caused civil liberties to be violated and seriously threaten their very existence in the future; (6) the Fund, through financing studies, surveys, books, speeches, radio and television programs, intends to alert and inform the American people concerning the threat to their civil liberties; (7) the Fund, while claiming it will not take a position itself, intends to activate, agitate, motivate and guide the American people into taking a position and into taking action in defense of civil liberties; and (8) while the Fund no doubt would deny it, its entire and colossal concentrated effort cannot, among other things, help but result in or bear on political activity.

Relative to any distribution of this monograph, it may be well to consider that the FBI has never investigated the Fund. In addition, this monograph has been presented as a factual and tightly drawn study without the benefit of derogatory allegations that were not traceable to their original sources without investigation. On the other hand, a neutral reader could not help but feel that we have in an objective manner, without editorializing, reached the above logical conclusions.

Enclosure
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LAWSON

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

RECOMMENDATION:

As a general rule, we do not afford outside dissemination to monographs unless they are based upon Bureau investigations. However, this is a restrained, objective study and we see no objection to disseminating it as we do our usual monographs. Attached is a list reflecting those agencies and officials ordinarily receiving monographs. Foreign dissemination has been eliminated from this list. Certain additional officials have also been eliminated in order to limit dissemination in this instance to high levels.

DETAILS:

Enclosed you will find the yellow copy of the research study made on The Fund for the Republic, Inc., pursuant to the Director's request. The study itself extends to 142 pages. It is preceded by a 29-page Summary and Conclusions and a 1-page Introduction.

The essence of the study is this: (1) The Fund was not originated by either Communists or pro-Communists and is not now controlled or dominated by such persons; (2) the Fund is using the services of persons, some of whom have in the past participated in the activities of the Communist Party, USA, and Communist front organizations and still others have been or are connected with socialist groups; (3) the Fund has gathered around itself a surprising number of persons who have long been critical of or have given opposition to (a) Federal loyalty programs, (b) Congressional investigative committees, (c) state investigative committees, (d) loyalty oaths, (e) deportations, (f) the Smith Act, (g) the Attorney General's list, et cetera -- in short, persons who say they are not pro-Communists but do not like the measures taken to combat Communism; (4) the Fund claims that it bases itself on the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution and as such is a champion of civil liberties; (5) the Fund is convinced that the Cold War anti-Communist measures have caused civil liberties to be violated and seriously threaten their very existence in the future; (6) the Fund, through financing studies, surveys, books, speeches, radio and television programs, intends to alert and inform the American people concerning the threat to their civil liberties; (7) the Fund, while claiming it will not take a position itself, intends to activate, agitate, motivate and guide the American people into taking a position and into taking action in defense of civil liberties; and (8) while the Fund no doubt would deny it, its entire and colossal concentrated effort cannot, among other things, help but result in or bear on political activity.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

Considerations Relative to Distribution of Monograph

- (1) The FBI has never investigated The Fund for the Republic, Inc. Obviously, our information concerning it is incomplete. Therefore, our conclusions are tentative and subject to change as additional facts appear.
- (2) In order to keep the monograph factual and tightly drawn, derogatory data which was not traceable to the original source without additional investigation was not set forth in the monograph. This means that there are a number of allegations unqualified by investigations which could affect our conclusions in this monograph. For example, we would not have been able to use an allegation of Fulton Lewis, Jr., had it not been easily and discreetly verified without conducting investigation. (This involved the erroneous labelling of printed material by the Fund to make it appear to be a Congressional report rather than what it actually was, a statement in the Congressional Record by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.)
- (3) On the other hand, even with the above limitations, an unprejudiced reader could not help but feel that we have in an objective manner, without editorializing, reached logical conclusions and presented the Fund as made-up of individuals with preconceived critical ideas concerning the existing security-loyalty concepts; individuals supporting one point of view; and individuals whose total organized effort cannot help but result in or bear on political activity.

ADDENDUM: (ESY:nar 10/10/55)

- (4) For your information, a dissemination list is attached which sets forth the usual recommended dissemination of those monographs sent to other U. S. governmental agencies and officials.

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Deputy Attorney General

Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

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Special Assistant to the President

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National Security Council

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National Security Council

Honorable Herbert Hoover, Jr.
Under Secretary of State

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Director, Office of Security
Department of State

Director of Naval Intelligence

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Major General John A. Samford
Director of Intelligence
Department of the Air Force

Mr. Allen W. Dulles
Director
Central Intelligence Agency

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Deputy Director, Plans
Central Intelligence Agency

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Deputy Director for Intelligence
The Joint Staff
Joint Chiefs of Staff

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Mr. J. Walter Yeagley, Chairman
Interdepartmental Committee on Internal Security

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THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

October 1955

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Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
John Edgar Hoover, Director

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1 - Mr. Nichols

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Section tickler

Based on memorandum from W. C. Sullivan to
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captioned matter. WCS:mjh

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INTRODUCTION

This monograph is preceded by a "Summary and Conclusions."

The monograph itself consists of two main parts. Part I presents the basic facts concerning the origin, organization, leadership, policies, objectives, scope and activities of The Fund for the Republic. Part II presents pertinent information from the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation relating to persons directly and indirectly connected with the Fund.

The "Summary" previously referred to is organized in a corresponding manner.

It is to be noted carefully that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has never investigated The Fund for the Republic, Inc. Therefore, the information contained in this monograph consists of three kinds: (1) public source; (2) classified but unverified; and (3) classified and verified.

The first pertains to books, pamphlets, articles, lectures, speeches, newspaper accounts, et cetera. The second pertains to classified information about The Fund for the Republic, Inc., given unsolicited to this Bureau and concerning which no attempt has been made to verify. The third pertains to classified material developed in the past as a result of investigations on persons now connected with The Fund for the Republic, Inc., which has been verified.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY

Part I

Part I presents basic facts concerning the origin, organization, leadership, policies, objectives, scope and activities of The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

Part II

Part II presents pertinent information from the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation relating to persons directly and indirectly connected with The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

CONCLUSIONS

The Conclusions in this study are set forth immediately following the end of Part II, of the Summary.

SUMMARY

PART I

Origin

The Fund for the Republic, Inc., traces its origin to the Ford Foundation. The trustees of the Ford Foundation authorized the Fund in October, 1951. On January 20, 1954, the Treasury Department ruled that The Fund for the Republic was exempt from income taxation under section 101 (6) of the Internal Revenue Code (1939).

The Ford Foundation

The Ford Foundation is a trust which was incorporated in Michigan in 1936. The finances for this Foundation were contributed by the late Henry Ford, his son Edsel Ford, and the Ford Motor Company. This Foundation allocates money for scientific, educational, and charitable purposes. In 1951, when The Fund for the Republic, Inc., was authorized, the net assets of the Ford Foundation were in excess of \$500,000,000. It is said to be the largest public trust in the world. Henry Ford II is chairman.

The Financial Worth of The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

As of May 31, 1955, the Fund's financial worth was reported as \$12,869,332. When the Ford Foundation authorized The Fund for the Republic, Inc., in October, 1951, it appropriated \$1,000,000 for it. In February, 1953, the Ford Foundation appropriated an additional \$14,000,000, making a total

of \$15,000,000. In addition to this, the Fund has earned a net income of \$384,070 in interest on investments since it was incorporated on December 9, 1952. Its expenses to date have been \$2,514,738.

Independence

The Fund for the Republic, Inc., is completely independent of the Ford Foundation. Therefore, the Ford Foundation has no control over the money appropriated by the Fund or its operations. The Fund makes its own policies, charts its own course and spends the money given it in any manner it considers to be consonant with its motives and objectives.

Location

The Fund for the Republic, Inc., has two offices. One is at 60 East Forty-second Street, New York, New York. The other is at 1444 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena, California.

Board of Directors

In December, 1952, The Fund for the Republic, Inc., was incorporated with the following board of directors:

1. James F. Brownlee, partner, J. H. Whitney and Company, New York, New York
2. Malcolm Bryan, president, Federal Reserve Bank, Atlanta, Georgia
3. Huntington Cairns, attorney, Washington, D. C.

4. Charles W. Cole, president, Amherst College,
Amherst, Massachusetts
5. Russell L. Dearmont, attorney, St. Louis, Missouri
6. Richard J. Finnegan, consulting editor, The Chicago Sun-Times,
Chicago, Illinois
7. Erwin N. Griswold, dean, Harvard Law School,
Cambridge, Massachusetts
8. William H. Joyce, Jr., president and chairman of the board,
Joyce, Inc., Pasadena, California
9. Meyer Kestnbaum, president, Hart, Schaffner & Marx,
Chicago, Illinois
10. M. Albert Linton, chairman of the board, Provident Mutual Life
Insurance Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
11. Jubal R. Parton, president, Woodley Petroleum Company,
Houston, Texas
12. Elmo Roper, marketing consultant, New York, New York
13. George N. Shuster, president, Hunter College, New York, New York
14. Eleanor Bumstead Stevenson, Oberlin, Ohio
15. James D. Zellerbach, president, Crown Zellerbach Corporation,
San Francisco, California

Fund Presidents

Paul G. Hoffman was the first head of The Fund for the Republic,
Inc., In February, 1953, Mr. Hoffman retired as president of the Ford

Foundation and was elected chairman of the board of directors of the Fund. He still holds this position.

Clifford P. Case was elected president of the Fund in May, 1953. At that time, he was a Congressman from New Jersey; a position he relinquished in order to take his office with the Fund in August, 1953. In April, 1954, Mr. Case resigned as president of the Fund to announce his candidacy for nomination for United States Senator, a position which he now fills.

Robert M. Hutchins, former chancellor of the University of Chicago, succeeded Mr. Case as president of the Fund in June, 1954. Immediately prior to this, Dr. Hutchins had been an associate director of the Ford Foundation.

Current Officers and Staff

1. President: Robert M. Hutchins
2. Assistant to the President:
3. Vice-President: Wilbur H. Ferry
4. Secretary and Treasurer:
5. Assistant Secretary:
6. Assistant Treasurer:
7. Counsel: Bethuel M. Webster
8. Staff Members: Joseph P. Lyford

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Current Board of Directors

1. Chairman: Paul G. Hoffman, chairman of the board
Studebaker-Packard Corporation
Los Angeles, California
2. Vice-Chairman: George N. Shuster, president,
Hunter College,
New York, New York

Members:

1. [REDACTED] Arkansas Gazette,
Little Rock, Arkansas
2. Chester Bowles, Former Governor of Connecticut
3. Charles W. Cole, president, Amherst College,
Amherst, Massachusetts
4. Arthur H. Dean, attorney, New York, New York
5. Russell L. Dearmont, attorney, St. Louis, Missouri
6. Erwin N. Griswold, dean, Harvard Law School,
Cambridge, Massachusetts
7. Robert M. Hutchins, president, The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
8. William H. Joyce, Jr., chairman of the board, Joyce, Inc.,
Pasadena, California
9. Meyer Kestnbaum, president, Hart, Schaffner & Marx,
Chicago, Illinois
10. M. Albert Linton, chairman of the board, Provident Mutual Life
Insurance Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
11. John Lord O'Brian, attorney, Washington, D. C.

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12. Jubal R. Parten, president, Woodley Petroleum Company,
Houston, Texas
 13. Elmo Roper, Elmo Roper Associates, New York, New York
 14. Robert E. Sherwood, playwright, New York, New York
 15. Mrs. Eleanor Bumstead Stevenson, Oberlin, Ohio
 16. James D. Zellerbach, president, Crown Zellerbach Corporation,
San Francisco, California

Current Consultants

1. Howard L. Chernoff, San Diego, California
2. Robert E. Cushman, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York
3. Elmer Davis, Washington, D. C.
4. [redacted] Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
5. Walter Millis, New York, New York
6. [redacted] Chicago, Illinois
7. Benjamin D. Segal, Washington, D. C.

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Basis of Action

The trustees of the Ford Foundation consider the creation of The Fund for the Republic, Inc., to be within the scope of the objectives of the Foundation. The basis for this conviction and subsequent action rests upon the Foundation's belief in and support of (1) the inherent worth and dignity

of man and the intrinsic value of human life; (2) the unalienable rights of man; (3) the existence of man as an end in himself and not as a means to some social goal; (4) the necessity for equal rights and equal opportunities for all men; (5) the elimination of restraints on the rights to freedom of thought, inquiry, expression in the United States; (6) the development of policies, procedures, and programs most suitable for the effective protection of these rights in the face of present international tensions with their inevitable repercussions within this Nation; and (7) the need for and the establishment of a special program through an independent corporation like The Fund for the Republic, Inc., to further, through concrete action, the convictions outlined in the preceding six points.

Policy of the Fund

The policy of the Fund incorporates the first six general points expressed in the preceding paragraph. This policy also particularizes to say it (1) will confront and concentrate on present-day problems; (2) will not engage in long-range research, but rather will give immediate attention to immediate issues, spending its principal as rapidly as this can be wisely done; (3) will not concern itself with scholarship as such or with general education; (4) will focus its efforts on the urgent issues of civil liberties;

and (5) will seek solutions and answers to problems and questions which are timely and pressing.

Objectives

The stated objectives of The Fund for the Republic, Inc., in addition to those inherent in its policy already described are: (1) to arouse an interest in civil liberties; (2) to encourage debate about them; (3) to furnish information to the people concerning these liberties and their present condition; (4) to promote a better understanding of civil liberties throughout the United States; and (5) to aid in preventing the compromising or loss of civil liberties through neglect, confusion or lack of information.

Predication and Dedication

The Fund for the Republic, Inc., predicates itself upon the democratic principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. In so doing it regards itself as a fund for the "American Dream." The Fund believes that the essence of this Dream is freedom--freedom from all kinds of tyranny--economic, political, religious and social. Therefore, The Fund for the Republic, Inc., proceeding from the predication described, intends to dedicate itself to reminding the people of America of the essence of the "American Dream." Further, in conjunction with this it intends to

provide information on the condition of freedom in this Nation today, about which the Fund has grave apprehensions.

General and Specific Areas of Concentration

As stated previously, The Fund for the Republic, Inc., will concentrate on the general area of civil liberties. However, it will also concentrate on certain specific areas in this field. These specific areas include what the Fund considers to be (1) restraints, restrictions and assaults upon academic freedom; (2) interference with due process and the equal protection of the laws of the land; (3) the need for safeguarding the rights of minority groups; (4) boycotting, censorship and blacklisting activities by private groups; and (5) "guilt by association."

Neutrality

The Fund for the Republic, Inc., advises that it does not take any position on controversial issues - except to affirm its faith in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. While it is intensely interested in certain controversial issues, it will refrain from taking sides. However, the Fund is convinced that the American people should not be neutral on controversial issues; that the people should take sides. To do so, the people must have information. The Fund intends to select and give the people the information necessary for them to take a position (the

implication here seems to be that the American people at this time are not adequately informed; that they suffer from varying degrees of ignorance). The Fund will endeavor to set the people into motion; to stimulate, to motivate, to activate and to guide the people through selected information it furnishes them. As previously stated, the Fund says it is neutral itself on these controversial issues and will not take any partisan position.

Grants

The allocation of monetary grants is one of the principal activities of The Fund for the Republic, Inc. Sizeable financial donations have been given to colleges, universities, libraries and other organizations for, among other things, the purpose of making specialized studies. These studies include: (1) Congressional investigative procedures; (2) community security vs. man's rights to knowledge; (3) man's right to knowledge and the free use thereof; (4) situations which give rise to pressure on teachers and educational institutions; (5) civil liberties and cooperation with the "Freedom Agenda" program; (6) extremist groups; (7) conspectus on civil liberties; (8) intellectual freedom; (9) Federal loyalty-security programs; (10) tenure laws and practices in American colleges and universities; (11) alien matters; (12) racial tensions and problems; (13) analysis of testimony of witnesses in proceedings relating to the combatting of Communism in the United States.

Projects

Projects have been initiated by the Fund in addition to the grants described. Unlike the grants, which concern work handled by organizations other than or outside of the Fund, the projects are being handled by members of the Fund's own staff or individuals under contract directly to the Fund. These projects relate to (1) an appraisal of the legacy of American liberty; (2) a study of official records concerning Communism in this Nation; (3) a survey of American attitudes toward Communism and civil liberties; (4) a survey of Communist influence in major segments of American society; (5) a study of the facts of individual cases under the loyalty-security programs; (6) a study of right-wing extremist groups; (7) national security and American tradition; (8) the blacklisting in the motion picture, radio and television industries; (9) a study of attitudes of university, college and high school teachers to determine if they have been intimidated by pressure groups and by the atmosphere resulting from the "Cold War"; (10) a compilation of laws and regulations pertaining to the loyalty-security program; (11) a survey of housing facilities for minority groups; (12) civil liberties; (13) support of a legal reference service for the assistance of lawyers in security cases; (14) censorship; (15) interference with the flow of information by the Post Office Department; and (16) mass communications media.

Fellowships and Grants-In-Aid

The Fund goes beyond the financing of grants and projects. In November, 1954, it authorized the establishment of a program of fellowships and grants-in-aid. For this purpose, the Fund allocated \$115,000. This program is designed to interest scholars in subjects with which the Fund is especially concerned and to assist persons already interested and working on such subjects. By May 31, 1955, thirteen awards had been made by the Fund under this program. These awards were made to the following persons for the purpose shown: (1) to [redacted] Washington, D. C., for a book on the Federal loyalty-security program; (2) to David Fellman, University of Wisconsin, for a book on American civil liberties; (3) to [redacted] Harvard University, for a study of the government security program; (4) to Walter Gellhorn, Columbia University, for research assistance in preparing the 1956 Edward Douglass White lectures; (5) to J. A. C. Grant, University of California, for a study on dual sovereignty and the rights of persons accused of crime; (6) to [redacted] University of Chicago, for assistance in a study of the extreme right in America; (7) to [redacted] Earlham College, for a book on oaths and other efforts in American history to assure or measure loyalty; (8) to Milton R. Konvitz,

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Cornell University, for completion of a book, First Amendment Freedoms; (9) to [redacted], American Friends Service Committee, for a study of interference with religious freedom in California; (10) to Edward Shils, University of Chicago, for a book on the loyalty-security problem; (11) to [redacted] Ohio State University, for completion of the book, Freedom's Defense: The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions; (12) to [redacted] University of California and Cornelius Cotter, Stanford University, for a study of the President's emergency powers and their potential effect on civil liberties; and (13) to Rowland Watts for a study of "undesirable" discharges given drafted servicemen by the Army.

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Survey of Communist Influence

The Fund is financing a survey and study of Communism in the United States. In November, 1953, the Fund appropriated \$300,000 for an analysis of Communist influence in the major segments of the social structure of this Nation. It is expected that two or three years will be required to complete this work. This particular operation is under the direction of Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University who is assisted by [redacted] of New York, New York. The individual studies which will comprise this survey and the persons preparing them are: (1) History of the Communist Party in the United States (1919-1945) by Theodore Draper, New York, New

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York; (2) Communism and Anti-Communism (1945-1956) by [redacted]
Columbia University; (3) Communism in the Labor Movement by Daniel
Bell, Fortune, New York, New York; (4) Communism and Religion by
[redacted] Union Theological Seminary; (5) Communism in Government
by Earl Latham, Amherst College; (6) Communism and Education by [redacted]
[redacted] Drake University; (7) Communism and the Arts, by Donald D.
Egbert, Princeton University; (8) Communism and Literature by [redacted]
[redacted] Smith College; (9) Communism and the Mass Media by Moshe Dector,
New York, New York; (10) Communism and the Social Structure by [redacted]
[redacted] New York, New York; (11) Communism and Science by [redacted]
[redacted] Brown University; and (12) Communism and Opinion-Making Groups
by John Roche, Haverford College.

Literature Published or Authorized by the Fund

The Fund for the Republic, Inc., has published (1) Bibliography
on the Communist Problem in the United States (1955) and (2) Digest of the
Public Record of Communism in the United States (1955). The Fund has also
authorized and financed the preparation of the book Communism, Conformity,
and Civil Liberties by Samuel A. Stouffer, Harvard University, Doubleday &
Company, Inc., Garden City, New York (1955).

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Literature Distributed by the Fund

In addition to publishing and authorizing literature, The Fund for the Republic has also distributed material considered to be pertinent to its aims and objectives. This literature includes: (1) Banned Books by [redacted]; (2) Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, special issue on loyalty-security, April, 1955; (3) Cornell Series in Civil Liberties*; (4) Faceless Informers and Our Schools by [redacted]; (5) Freedom Award Speeches; (6) Government by Investigation by [redacted]; (7) Grand Inquest by Telford Taylor; (8) Open Occupancy, an article in House and Home; (9) See It Now, Edward R. Murrow and J. Robert Oppenheimer television interview; (10) See It Now, Edward R. Murrow's television program on book censorship in California; (11) Strong in Their Pride and Free by Harry P. Cain; (12) The Fifth Amendment Today by Erwin N. Griswold; (13) The Kept Witnesses by Richard H. Rovere; (14) The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt by [redacted]; (15) To Insure the End of Our Hysteria by Paul G. Hoffman; (16) To Make Our Security System Secure by Vannevar Bush; and (17) Who 'Collaborated' With Russia? by [redacted]

* The Cornell Series in Civil Liberties includes the following books: (1) Security, Loyalty and Science by Walter Gellhorn, Columbia University; (2) The Tenney Committee by [redacted], University of California; (3) Un-American Activities in the State of Washington by Vern Countryman, Yale University; (4) Loyalty and Legislative Action by [redacted], Columbia College; (5) The States and Subversion by Walter Gellhorn; (6) The House Committee on Un-American Activities by [redacted], Dartmouth College; and (7) The Federal Loyalty-Security Program by [redacted], Washington, D. C.

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SUMMARY

PART II

Organizations Designated by the Attorney General Pursuant to Executive Order 10450 and Organizations and Publications Cited by Congressional Committees

Eighteen persons connected with The Fund for the Republic, Inc., have participated in the activities* of one or more of the organizations designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450 or of the organizations or publications cited by Congressional committees. The organizations or publications with which these persons have been identified in the past are:

1. American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom
2. American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
3. American Committee to Save Refugees
4. American League for Peace and Democracy
5. American Rescue Ship Mission
6. American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union
7. American Student Union
8. American Youth Congress

*Through (1) membership, (2) sponsorship, (3) signing of letters, statements, petitions, resolutions, (4) endorsement, (5) organization, (6) legal defense, (7) fund raising, (8) financial contributions, or (9) literary efforts, et cetera.

9. California Labor School, Inc.
10. Committee for Concerted Peace Efforts
11. Committee for Defense of Public Education
12. Communist Party, USA
13. Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo
14. Council for Pan-American Democracy
15. Daily Worker
16. Friday
17. Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions
18. International Juridical Association
19. International Labor Defense
20. John Reed Clubs of the United States
21. Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee
22. League of American Writers
23. Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
24. National Council of American-Soviet Friendship
25. National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions
26. National Emergency Conference
27. National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights

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28. National Federation for Constitutional Liberties
 29. National Lawyers' Guild
 30. New Masses
 31. New Theatre League
 32. New York Conference for Inalienable Rights
 33. Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Vito Marcantonio
 34. Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace
 35. Southern Conference for Human Welfare
 36. Southern Negro Youth Congress
 37. Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
 38. Workers School of New York City
 39. Young Communist League

The eighteen persons now connected with The Fund for the Republic, Inc., who have participated in the activities of one or more of the above-listed groups are:

1. Gordon W. Allport

member of the Commission on Race and Housing

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2. Robert E. Cushman

consultant; grants for a conspectus on civil liberties and completion of book National Security and the American Tradition

3. Theodore Draper ✓ selected to write a History of the Communist Party in the United States (1919-1945)
4. Wilbur H. Ferry ✓ vice-president of the Fund
5. Walter Gellhorn ✓ authorized to furnish research assistance in preparing the 1956 Edward Douglass White lectures
6. member of the Commission on Race and Housing
7. Paul Jacobs ✓ assisting investigation into blacklisting in the entertainment industry
8. Charles S. Johnson ✓ member of the Commission on Race and Housing
9. Monte M. Lemann ✓ member of the Committee on Loyalty-Security Program
10. ✓ consultant
11. Joseph P. Lyford ✓ staff member
12. Helen M. Lynd ✓ member of the Advisory Committee for the Study of Fear in Education
13. John Lord O'Brian ✓ member of the board of directors
14. Whitney N. Seymour ✓ member of the Committee on Loyalty-Security Program
15. Robert E. Sherwood ✓ member of the board of directors
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| 16. | Edward Shils | recipient of grant to complete a book on the loyalty-security problem |
| 17. | George N. Shuster | vice-chairman of the board of directors |
| 18. | James D. Zellerbach | member of the board of directors |

In many cases, the activities of these persons in the various groups ceased because of resignation, expulsion, withdrawal of approval and cessation of activities, or because of the inactivity or the dissolution of the organization.

Three of the above-named individuals have been active in or affiliated with a considerable number of cited organizations. They are Professors Gellhorn, Allport and Lynd.

Walter Gellhorn
School of Law
Columbia University

Professor Walter Gellhorn of Columbia University (1) has been reported by Louis Budenz, a former national official of the Communist Party, USA, to have been a concealed member of the Communist Party, USA, (Professor Gellhorn has denied that he has ever been a Communist); and (2) has been either a member of or participated in the activities of the following

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organizations previously referred to:

1. American Rescue Ship Mission ✓
2. International Juridical Association ✓
3. International Labor Defense ✓
4. National Emergency Conference ✓
5. National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights ✓
6. National Lawyers' Guild ✓
7. Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Vito Marcantonio ✓
8. Workers School of New York City ✓

It is of further interest to note that Professor Gellhorn has been especially active in (1) opposing the Federal loyalty-security programs; (2) opposing Congressional investigating committees; (3) opposing the various state investigating committees; (4) charging that civil liberties are being widely violated; and (5) de-emphasizing the menace of Communists and Communism to the United States.

Professor Gellhorn was a leading figure in the preparation of the Cornell Series in Civil Liberties. For this series, he authored the book, Security, Loyalty and Science, and edited a second volume, The States and Subversion, to which he contributed a chapter. His own book delivered a

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strong attack against the present loyalty-security programs and the book he edited was, in the main, of the same nature. These two books and others in the Cornell series have been distributed by The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

Gordon W. Allport
Professor of Psychology
Harvard University

Professor Allport, member of the Commission on Race and Housing for The Fund for the Republic, Inc., has participated in the activities of thirteen of the organizations listed above. These are:

1. American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
2. American League for Peace and Democracy
3. American Student Union
4. Committee for Concerted Peace Efforts
5. Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo
6. Council for Pan-American Democracy
7. John Reed Clubs of the United States
8. Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
9. National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

10. National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions
11. National Emergency Conference
12. National Federation for Constitutional Liberties
13. Southern Conference for Human Welfare

Helen Lynd
Professor of Social Philosophy
Sarah Lawrence College

Professor Lynd, member of the Advisory Committee on the Study of Fear in Education being prepared for The Fund for the Republic, Inc., has participated in the activities of eight of the organizations. These are:

1. American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
2. American Committee to Save Refugees
3. Committee for Defense of Public Education
4. Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions
5. League of American Writers
6. National Council of American-Soviet Friendship
7. Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace
8. Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

note

The other persons listed participated in the activities of from one to three of the organizations in varying degrees. For example, James D. Zellerbach contributed money to the California Labor School, Inc., but stopped on learning that it was Communist. John Lord O'Brian was a member of the National Lawyers' Guild before it was cited, et cetera.

Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR)

The Institute of Pacific Relations is an excellent example of a vehicle used by the Communists that victimized prominent non-Communists. Most of the members of the IPR and of its board of trustees were inactive and without any actual influence over the policies of the organization. However, the names of eminent individuals were by design used as a responsible and impressive screen for the activities of the inner core of Communists and pro-Communists who controlled its policies and activities and allowed the IPR to be used as a front for Soviet policy, propaganda and military intelligence.

Members of the Institute of Pacific Relations who are now connected directly with The Fund for the Republic but who were never Communists or even pro-Communists are:

1. Laird Bell

member of the Commission on
Race and Housing

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| 2. | Arthur H. Dean | member of the board of directors |
| 3. | Paul G. Hoffman | chairman of the board of directors |
| 4. | Henry R. Luce | member of the Commission on
Race and Housing |
| 5. | Walter H. Mills | consultant |
| 6. | Francis T. P. Plimpton | member of the Commission on
Race and Housing |
| 7. | James D. Zellerbach | member of the board of directors |

CONCLUSIONS*

1. The Fund for the Republic, Inc., was not originated or brought into being by either Communists or pro-Communists.
2. There is today no known Communist on the board of directors, or among the officers, staff and consultants.
3. On the board of directors, and among the officers, staff and consultants, are some persons who in the past belonged to or participated in the activities of cited organizations relating to Communism. This participation, while it may reflect on the judgment of those persons, cannot be evaluated from a security standpoint on the basis of available information.
4. Among the members of Fund commissions and participants in grants, projects, research, et cetera, is one person who was reported to be a concealed Communist and others who were members of, or participated in activities of, cited organizations relating to Communism.
5. Among the members of Fund commissions and participants in grants, projects, research, writing, et cetera, are some persons who have participated, and others who do participate, in the activities of Socialist groups.
6. The Fund for the Republic, Inc., claims it is actively concerned with protecting, fostering and encouraging the people of the United States to have a more complete understanding of civil liberties.

*On reading and assessing the value of these conclusions, it should be kept in mind that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has never investigated The Fund for the Republic, Inc. The information permitting these conclusions has been given to this Bureau unsolicited. Obviously, it is incomplete. Therefore, these conclusions are tentative and subject to change as additional facts appear which may warrant changes.

7. The Fund for the Republic, Inc., believes that civil liberties in the United States are seriously threatened today because of anti-Communist measures taken by the Federal and state governments.
8. The Fund for the Republic, Inc., has directed a heavy barrage (which may become heavier as the studies it is financing are published) of criticism against (a) Federal loyalty-security programs, (b) Congressional investigative committees, (c) state investigative committees, (d) loyalty oaths, (e) deportations, (f) the Smith Act, and (g) the Attorney General's list, et cetera.
9. A surprising number of persons now connected with The Fund for the Republic, Inc., were, long before they became connected with it, severe critics of, or gave opposition to, methods taken in this country to combat Communism. They came to the Fund, apparently, with preconceived* opinions and with minds already made up. (The question which naturally follows is: Are these men and women mentally and temperamentally capable of making thorough, objective and unprejudiced conclusions in their work for the Fund?)
10. The Fund has distributed considerable literature on the loyalty-security work of the Federal and state governments. This literature has been written, almost without exception, from a critical standpoint. Literature presenting opposite views is, in the main, conspicuous by its absence.

*The thought attributed to [redacted] is pertinent here: Unless one gives up all preconceived opinions, interpretations and prejudices and sits down before all the facts like a child, following wherever they may lead, one will learn nothing.

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11. In view of the fact that The Fund for the Republic, Inc., openly admits its intentions to inform the American people on civil liberties and to move them into taking a position, it follows from this that the aim of the Fund is action on the part of the people. Among other things, this action must be political. This is unavoidable. Therefore, for the Fund to select and distribute or to prepare and distribute literature giving only one side of controversial issues is not to inform (a stated objective of the Fund) but to misinform by omission. It is to move, motivate, activate and guide large numbers of people into taking action, political and otherwise, based on incomplete information.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PART I

Part I presents basic facts concerning the origin, organization, leadership, policies, objectives, scope and activities of The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

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LOCATION

New York and California

The Fund for the Republic, Inc., has two offices, one being at 60 East Forty-second Street, New York City; the other office is located at 1444 Westworth Avenue, Pasadena, California.

Report of The Fund for the Republic
May 31, 1955, p. 6

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HISTORY

Origin

The origin of The Fund for the Republic is to be found in the Ford Foundation. * The Trustees of the Ford Foundation authorized the Fund in October, 1951. At that time one million dollars was appropriated as an initial step toward construction and action.

Basis of Action

The basis of the action taken was explained in a statement of the plans of the Trustees made in 1950.

"... 'The Foundation will support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect these rights in the face of persistent international tension. '

"... 'Basic to human welfare is general acceptance of the dignity of man. This rests on the conviction that man is endowed with certain unalienable rights and must be regarded as an end in himself, not as a cog in the mechanism of society or a mere means to some social end. At its heart, this is a belief in the

*The Ford Foundation, of which Henry Ford, II, is chairman, is a trust which was incorporated in Michigan in 1936 with funds contributed by the late Henry Ford, his son, Edsel Ford, and the Ford Motor Company. The Foundation allocates money for scientific, educational and charitable purposes and projects. In 1951, its net assets were in excess of \$500,000,000. It is reported to be the largest public trust in the world,

(100-391697-2) (The New York Times, 12/13/52 23:5
& 7/25/54 46:1)

inherent worth of the individual and the intrinsic value of human life. Implicit in this concept is the conviction that society must accord all men equal rights and equal opportunity. Human welfare requires tolerance and respect for individual social, religious, and cultural differences, and for the varying needs and aspirations to which these differences give rise. It requires freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of worship, and freedom of association. Within wide limits, every person has a right to go his own way and to be free from interference or harassment because of non-conformity. '"

Report of The Fund for the
Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 9

A Special Program and an Independent Corporation

The Trustees of the Ford Foundation concluded that the freedom of Americans is so important it should be afforded a special program. They are of the opinion that to treat freedom as a part of a general program would be inadequate. Further, an independent corporation should be created to handle this special program

"...with directors chosen because of their interest in civil liberties and their ability to make a contribution to increasing understanding of these basic rights. The Trustees determined that if the Directors of the new corporation presented, in general terms, a program calculated to achieve the results the Foundation had in mind, the Foundation would make a large lump-sum appropriation for its support. It was understood that, within these general terms, the Directors of the new

corporation were to feel free to work out their own policies and to make such grants as they thought proper, without further reference to the Ford Foundation.

"Pursuant to these decisions, the Fund for the Republic was incorporated with a Board of Directors of its own in December, 1952. In February, 1953, the Ford Foundation appropriated \$14,000,000 additional for the Fund. At that time the Fund assumed a completely independent status. The Fund has not asked the Foundation to approve the policies of the Fund; the Foundation has not sought to exert influence over the Fund. The relation of the Fund to the Foundation is the same as that of any other independent beneficiary of the Foundation."

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 9-10

note

POLICIES

Concentration on Current Problems

The Fund is not concerned with the past or the future, but with the present. This, of course, does not exclude it from giving consideration to the past and the future where they will illuminate and help to solve the problems of the present.

"The Fund for the Republic was established to deal with problems that exist today. It expects to spend its principal as fast as this can be judiciously done. It is not engaged in the support of long-term research. It is not interested in scholarship as such. Nor is it concerned with general education. Its efforts are focused on the immediate issues of civil liberties. When it engages in research, or sponsors it, the Fund is seeking to obtain answers to questions that are pressing now."

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 10

Objectives

The objectives of the Fund relate to a better understanding of civil liberties in the United States.

"The object of the Fund is to advance understanding of civil liberties. The Board of Directors believes that the rights of Americans should not be compromised or lost through neglect or confusion. It believes that the citizen should know what his rights are and what is happening to them. This is the reason why the Fund has

used all the media of communication--radio, television, newspapers, magazines, records, and books--to arouse an interest in civil liberties and to encourage debate about them."

Report of The Fund for the Republic
May 31, 1955, p. 10

Elsewhere the Report says:

"...The object of the Fund is to help supply the requisite information."

Report of The Fund for the Republic
May 31, 1955, p. 12

The "American Dream"

The Fund views its policies, objectives and work somewhat in terms of the "American Dream."

"The Fund for the Republic is a kind of fund for the American Dream. This dream undoubtedly has economic aspects; many people came to this country in the hope of getting rich. But the essence of the dream is and always has been freedom, the escape from tyranny--political, religious, economic, social--into a free country where a man could work out his own destiny in his own way. The Fund for the Republic is dedicated to reminding Americans of this essential quality of the American Dream and to reporting on the state of freedom today."

Report of The Fund for the Republic
May 31, 1955, pp. 10-11

The Cold War and the "Enemy"

The Fund is convinced that the continued existence and materialization of the "American Dream" require at all times thought, devotion

and effort; but today even more so because of the existence of the "Cold War" occasioned by the presence of Communist and non-Communist forces. The Fund thinks that the "Cold War" we now experience has thrown the entire subject of civil liberties into disorder and threatens their continued effective existence.

"... But it must be admitted that the Cold War has thrown the whole subject into unusual disorder. A political party in this country has been identified with the 'enemy.' Those associated with this party have therefore come under suspicion as an imminent danger to the state. In view of the weapons now available and of the examples of subversion that other countries have offered, the danger has seemed great, though often mysterious and intangible. It has appeared that the peril to the country could be dealt with only by methods that drastically departed from those which have characterized Anglo-American jurisprudence."

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 11

Guilt by Association

The Fund believes that guilt by association does exist in the United States. Further, it has greatly extended the area of persons suspected of disloyalty to our institutions. It believes there is a growing tendency toward the suppression of nonconformity. This has contributed toward the experiencing of "inordinate anxiety" by respectable and educated people.

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"The range of suspected persons has been enormously extended by resort to guilt by association. The evidence offered to show that a man is a danger to American institutions has often been farcically remote. The treatment accorded suspected persons in Congressional investigations and administrative hearings has not always been that contemplated by the Sixth Amendment. A kind of continuous propaganda and social pressure has been kept up that has tended to suppress conscientious non-conformity. Political advantage has accrued from claiming that others were indifferent to the threat of communism. The result has been that governmental officers, university presidents, and ordinary citizens have felt it necessary to exhibit inordinate anxiety on this score."

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 11

The Neutrality of the Fund

On the controversial matters referred to, the Fund does not take any position except to affirm its faith in our democratic principles as contained in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The Fund does believe, however, that the American people must not remain neutral and should take a position. To do so requires information. The Fund intends to give them the information necessary to their taking a position.

"The Fund for the Republic takes no position on these matters, beyond affirming its faith in the principles upon which our government is founded, as set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The Fund does believe, however, that the American people, who must take a position on these matters, should pay attention to them and be adequately informed about them. The object of the Fund is to help supply the requisite information."

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 11-12

LEADERSHIP

Organization of the Fund

In December, 1952, The Fund for the Republic was incorporated with the following Board of Directors:

James F. Brownlee, partner, J. H. Whitney and Company,
New York, New York

Malcolm Bryan, president, Federal Reserve Bank, Atlanta,
Georgia

Huntington Cairns, attorney, Washington, D. C.

Charles W. Cole, president, Amherst College, Amherst,
Massachusetts

Russell L. Dearmont, attorney, St. Louis, Missouri

Richard J. Finnegan, * consulting editor, The Chicago Sun-Times,
Chicago, Illinois

Erwin N. Griswold, dean, Harvard Law School, Cambridge,
Massachusetts

William H. Joyce, Jr., president and chairman of the board,
Joyce, Inc., Pasadena, California

Meyer Kestnbaum, president, Hart, Schaffner & Marx,
Chicago, Illinois

M. Albert Linton, chairman of the board, Provident Mutual
Life Insurance Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

*Died May 6, 1955.

Jubal R. Parten, president, Woodley Petroleum Company,
Houston, Texas

Elmo Roper, marketing consultant, New York, New York

George N. Shuster, president, Hunter College, New York,
New York

Eleanor Eumstead Stevenson, Oberlin, Ohio

James D. Zellerbach, president, Crown Zellerbach Corporation,
San Francisco, California

During the early months of the Fund's existence, a planning committee of the directors, under the informal leadership of Erwin N. Griswold, worked on the tasks of suggesting policies, areas for action, and methods that might be employed in the operation of the Fund.

The Ford Foundation Annual Report
for 1952, p. 29; Report of The Fund
for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 10;
The New York Times, December 13, 1952,
p. 23

Fund Presidents

The first head of the Fund was Paul G. Hoffman who, in February, 1953, retired as president of the Ford Foundation and was elected chairman of the board of directors of the Fund. He is still with the Fund in this capacity.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 5; The New York Times,
February 20, 1953, pp. 1, 16

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In May, 1953, Clifford P. Case, then a Congressman from New Jersey, was elected the president and a director of the Fund. He relinquished his Congressional seat and took office in August, 1953. In April, 1954, Case resigned as president when he announced his candidacy for nomination for United States Senator.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 10; The New York
Times, May 27, 1953, p. 17; March 8,
1954, p. 10

Case was succeeded as president in June, 1954, by Robert M. Hutchins, former chancellor of the University of Chicago. Hutchins had been an associate director of the Ford Foundation, but resigned to accept this new post.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 10; The New York
Times, May 26, 1954, p. 6

Current Officers and Staff

President: Robert M. Hutchins

Assistant to the President: [redacted]

Vice - President: Wilbur H. Ferry

Secretary and Treasurer: [redacted]

Assistant Secretary: [redacted]

Assistant Treasurer: [redacted]

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Counsel: Bethuel M. Webster

Staff Members: Joseph P. Lyford

[redacted]
Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 6

Current Board of Directors

Chairman: Paul G. Hoffman, chairman of the board,
Studebaker-Packard Corporation
Los Angeles, California

Vice-Chairman: George N. Shuster, president, Hunter College,
New York, New York

Members: Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

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Chester Bowles, former Governor of Connecticut

Charles W. Cole, president, Amherst College,
Amherst, Massachusetts

Arthur H. Dean, attorney, New York, New York

Russell L. Dearmont, attorney, St. Louis, Missouri

Erwin N. Griswold, dean, Harvard Law School,
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Robert M. Hutchins, president, The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

William H. Joyce, Jr., chairman of the board, Joyce, Inc.,
Pasadena, California

Meyer Kestnbaum, president, Hart, Schaffner & Marx,
Chicago, Illinois

M. Albert Linton, chairman of the board,
Provident Mutual Life Insurance
Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

John Lord O'Brien, attorney, Washington, D. C.

Jubal R. Parten, president, Woodley Petroleum Company,
Houston, Texas

Elmo Roper, Elmo Roper Associates, New York, New York

Robert E. Sherwood, playwright, New York, New York

Mrs. Eleanor Bumstead Stevenson, Oberlin, Ohio

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James D. Zellerbach, president, Crown Zellerbach
Corporation, San Francisco, California

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 6.

Current Consultants

[redacted] San Diego, California

Robert E. Cushman, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

Elmer Davis, Washington, D. C.

Frank S. Loescher, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Walter Millis, New York, New York

[redacted] Chicago, Illinois

Benjamin D. Segal, Washington, D. C.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 36.

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FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

Statement of Funds 1952-54

The 1952, 1953 and 1954 annual reports of the Ford Foundation show the source of funds of The Fund for the Republic:

Grants* and Payments to Fund by Ford Foundation

<u>Year Ending</u>	<u>Grants</u>	<u>Payments</u>	<u>Unpaid Balance</u>
December 31, 1952	\$200,000	\$100,000	\$100,000
December 31, 1953	\$14,800,000	\$2,900,000	\$12,000,000
September 30, 1954	_____	\$12,000,000	_____
	\$15,000,000	\$15,000,000	

The Ford Foundation Annual Report
for 1952, p. 59; for 1953, p. 82;
for 1954, p. 82.

Statements in the Fund's 1955 Report

Financial statements of the Fund, contained in its report of May 31, 1955, disclose that its total assets of \$12,877,748 include cash of \$73,086, investments in United States Government and other bonds of \$12,095,240 and other accruals and advances of \$108,822. Against this, the Fund has liabilities of accounts payable for \$8,416, leaving a fund balance of \$12,869,332. However, the statements indicate that because of authorizations made by the

*The Board of Trustees "appropriated" money for grants which may be made by the officers of the Foundation.

The Ford Foundation Annual Report
for 1952, pp. 54-55,

board of Directors, the corporation was contingently liable for appropriations of grants totalling \$317,500, payable upon fulfillment of certain conditions. The corporation was also contingently liable for authorizations for projects totalling \$1,613,332, of which \$766,542, had already been expended.

The statement of receipts, grants and expenses reveals that since the date of incorporation (December 9, 1952) to May 31, 1955, in addition to the \$15,000,000 grant from the Ford Foundation, the Fund has earned a net income of \$384,070, in interest on investments and profit or loss on disposition of securities.

The Fund's expenses have been:

Grants	\$1,074,353
Projects	694,242
Program development	95,579
Administration expenses	650,564
	<hr/>
	\$2,514,738

The excess of receipts over expenses, or value of the Fund as of May 31, 1955, was \$12,869,332, subject to the contingent liabilities as noted above.

Detailed schedules of authorized grants and appropriations for projects by the Fund were included in the annual report. They are summarized

as follows:

Grants authorized

December 9, 1952 through September 30, 1954. . .	\$659,800
October 1, 1954 through May 31, 1955.	545,110
	<u>\$1,204,910*</u>

Project authorizations

December 9, 1952 through September 30, 1954 . . .	\$1,320,473
October 1, 1954 through May 31, 1955.	901,650
Total	<u>\$2,222,123</u>
Unexpended balance May 31, 1955.	1,530,882
Total expenses	<u>\$ 691,241**</u>

The statements and schedules included in the report of The Fund for the Republic of May 31, 1955, are based on data as of September 30, 1954, which were certified by Lybrand, Ross Bros. and Montgomery, certified public accountants of New York City; the data as of May 31, 1955, was not examined by independent certified public accountants.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 31-33

(On January 20, 1954, the Treasury Department ruled that The Fund for the Republic was exempt from income taxation under section 101 (6) of the Internal Revenue Code (1939).

Hearings, Special Committee to
Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations
and Comparable Organizations,
83rd Congress, Part II, p. 1052

*The statement of receipts, grants and expenses shows the total grants as \$1,074,353, or a difference of \$130,557.

**The statement of receipts, grants and expenses shows the total projects as \$694,242, or a difference of \$3,001.

Section 101 (c) of the Internal Revenue Code (1939) grants an exemption to:

"Corporations, and any community chest, fund, or foundation, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, and no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation."

26 U.S.C.A. (I.R.C. 1939) 101 (c)*

*Also see 26 U.S.C.A. (I.R.C. 1954) 501 (c) (3).

GRANTS

Recipients

One of the principal activities of the Fund has been the allocation of sizeable financial donations to other organizations engaged in activities which the Fund views favorably. These grants were allocated as follows:

<u>Amounts</u>	<u>Recipients and Dates</u>	<u>Purposes</u>
\$50,000	Special Committee of the American Bar Association (Foundation) on Individual Rights as Affected by National Security December 1952	A study of Congressional investigative procedure
\$55,000 86,500*	American Friends Service Committee June 1953	Work relating to the economic status of American Indians in the Southwest; Negroes in Dallas, Texas, and Greensboro, North Carolina; and the difficulties encountered in Washington, D. C., as a result of desegregation in education
\$ 4,500	Columbia University August 1953	Two-day conference on the subject "Community Security vs. Man's Right to Knowledge"
\$40,000	Columbia University September 1953	Preparation and distribution of material pertaining to the Columbia University Bi-centennial celebration held

*Additional grant in June 1954.

\$40,000

Voluntary Defenders
Committee, Inc. of
Massachusetts
September 1953

\$ 6,500

Cornell University
November 1953

\$ 1,000

\$ 1,000*

New York Public Library
January 1954

\$ 5,000

Southern Regional Council
January 1954

\$ 3,000

Columbia University
April 1954

\$11,000

Young Men's Christian
Association
April 1954

\$ 5,000**

under the theme "Man's
Right to Knowledge and the
Free Use Thereof"

To provide legal counsel to
indigent defendants in
criminal cases

A study (not further
identified) by H. Mark
Roelofs

Support of the Central
Reference Room

Preparation and distribution
of a summary of the book,
The Negro and the Schools.

A "pilot study" of situations
which give rise to pressure
on teachers and educational
institutions

A background paper on civil
liberties and cooperation
with the "Freedom Agenda"
program***

*Additional grant in February 1955.

**Additional grant in December 1954

***The objective of the "Freedom Agenda" program is to promote discussion
of the basic rights of all Americans by all community groups.

\$240,000	Southern Regional Council April 1954	To augment the Southern Council staff both at its headquarters in Atlanta and in twelve state affiliates
\$ 35,000	National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools April 1954	A series of radio programs dealing with problems confronting public schools
\$ 45,000	Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund	"Freedom Agenda" program
\$ 66,610*	April 1954	
\$ 10,000	Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago	To reduce racial tensions.
\$ 8,000**	June 1954	
\$ 15,000	Common Council for American Unity	Legal assistance to aliens
	June 1954	
\$ 15,300	Columbia University	Preparation of a program for a study of extremist groups
	June 1954	
\$ 7,000	Cornell University	A conspectus on civil liberties by Robert E. Cushman
	September 1954	
\$ 6,000	American Library Association	Preparation and distribution of the Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom
	November 1954	
\$ 10,000	National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.	Solution of problems arising from desegregation in public schools in the border states
	November 1954	

*Additional grant in November 1954.

**Additional grant in May 1955.

\$100,000	Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc. November 1954	A study and report on the "Federal Loyalty-Security" program
\$ 4,000	Universalist Church of America January 1955	Cooperation with the "Freedom Agenda" program
\$ 5,000	Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc. February 1955	Assisting "unpopular defendants" to obtain legal counsel in civil liberties cases
\$ 50,000	American Heritage Council February 1955	To assist the Illinois Department of the American Legion in its educational program based on a discussion of the basic documents of American history
\$ 9,000	National Book Committee February 1955	An exploratory study of the limits of free expression
\$ 8,000	Young Women's Christian Association February 1955	Cooperation with the "Freedom Agenda" program
\$ 5,000	University Young Women's Christian Association, Westwood, California March 1955	A special award for maintaining an open platform policy
\$ 10,000	Civic Area Committee, Waverly (Iowa) Chamber of Commerce March 1955	A special award for the efforts of the community on behalf of a Negro Air Force captain and his family
\$ 10,000	Columbia University April 1955	A "pilot study" of tenure laws and practices in American colleges and universities

\$ 32,500	Common Council for American Unity May 1955	Research on legal cases involving aliens
\$ 5,000	American Friends Service Committee May 1955	To finance the radio programs of the American Friends Service Committee which deal with civil liberties
\$150,000	American Friends Service Committee May 1955	Legal assistance in cases involving conscientious nonconformists
\$ 20,000	Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches May 1955	To promote discussion of civil liberties topics
\$ 25,000	Stanford University School of Law May 1955	An analysis of the testimony of witnesses in proceedings relating to Communism
\$ 5,000	Stanford University School of Law May 1955	A study of a civil liberties topic by members of the "Stanford Law Review"
\$ 10,000	Public Education Association, New York, New York May 1955	A survey of alleged racial segregation and educational discrimination in New York City schools

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 12-22, 24-27.

\$ 5,000

Plymouth Meeting,
Pennsylvania
June 1955

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A special award to the community for "courageous and effective defense of democratic principles" in retaining Mary Knowles, librarian, in the face of adverse publicity regarding her former subversive affiliations. *

The New York Times, June 23, 1955,
p. 31

*Press reports state the award has not been accepted as yet.

PROJECTS

Conducted By the Fund

In addition to the grants which it has made to other organizations for research, publicity and work in fields of mutual interest, the Fund has also initiated a number of projects which are being conducted by members of its own staff or individuals under contract directly to the Fund. These projects, and the amount appropriated by the Fund for their completion, are as follows:

<u>Authorized</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Purpose</u>
May 1953	\$10,773	The creation of a study group under Stanley Pargellis, Newberry Library, Chicago, to consider means of appraising the Legacy of American Liberty
June 1953	\$64,500	A study of official records relating to Communist activity
June 1953	\$185,500	A survey of American attitudes toward Communism and civil liberties
November 1953	\$300,000	A survey of Communist influence in the major segments of American society
June 1954	\$100,000	A study of the facts of individual cases under the loyalty-security programs
June 1954	\$106,700	Research and planning of a study of right-wing extremist groups in the United States

<u>Authorized</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Purpose</u>
September 1954	\$ 3,000	Toward the completion of the book <u>National Security and the American Tradition</u> by Robert E. Cushman, to deal with the present state of civil liberties in the United States
September 1954	\$100,000	A survey of blacklisting in the motion picture, radio and television industries
September 1954	\$150,000	A study of the attitudes of university, college and high school teachers to determine if they have been intimidated "by pressure groups and by the atmosphere resulting from the Cold War"
September 1954	\$100,000	This sum to be used for awards to publications for outstanding contributions on topics in which the Fund is interested
September 1954	\$200,000	The production of "pilot films" and participation in television programs in which the Fund is interested
November 1954	\$ 21,000	A compilation of laws and regulations relating to the loyalty-security program
November 1954	\$100,000	A comprehensive survey of housing facilities for minority groups
November 1954	\$ 58,150	Distribution of publications
December 1954	\$ 75,000	This sum to be used for awards to be presented for original dramatic and documentary television scripts on civil liberties themes
April 1955	\$ 20,000	For work with labor unions in explaining the importance of civil liberties

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<u>Authorized</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Purpose</u>
May 1955	\$200,000	A weekly television series featuring Herbert Lawrence Block (Herblock), political cartoonist of <u>The Washington Post and Times Herald</u> , to begin in the Fall of 1955
May 1955	\$ 65,000	This sum to be used for awards for distinguished dramatic and documentary television shows already on the air
May 1955	\$100,000	This sum to be used for special awards for distinguished service in the field of civil liberties
May 1955	\$ 65,000	To support a legal reference service for the assistance of lawyers in security cases.
May 1955	\$ 17,500	This sum to be used for grants to bar groups for the defense of civil liberties cases
May 1955	\$ 5,000	For discussion of a commission concerned with all aspects of censorship of the printed word
May 1955	\$ 35,000	A study of the problem of interference with the flow of information by the Post Office Department
May 1955	\$ 25,000	To explore the possibility of organizing a permanent agency to appraise the performance of the media of mass communication

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 12-22, 28-30.

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS-IN-AID

Awards Made

In November, 1954, the Fund authorized the establishment of a program of fellowships and grants-in-aid and allocated \$115,000 for this project. This program is designed to interest scholars in issues with which the Fund is particularly concerned and to assist individuals already working in such fields. By May 31, 1955, thirteen awards had been made by the Fund under this program to the following individuals for the purposes indicated.

The Individuals

[redacted]
Washington, D. C.

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David Fellman,
University of Wisconsin

[redacted]
Harvard University

Walter Gellhorn,
Columbia University

J. A. C. Grant,
University of California

Purposes

For completion of a book on the Federal loyalty-security program.

For a nontechnical book on American civil liberties, including summaries of recent state and Federal decisions

For a study of the government security program

For research assistance in preparing the 1956 Edward Douglass White lectures

For completion of a study on "dual sovereignty" and the rights of persons accused of crime

[redacted]
University of Chicago

Harold Hyman,
Earlham College

Milton R. Konvitz,
Cornell University

[redacted]
American Friends Service
Committee, Pasadena,
California

Edward Shils,
University of Chicago

[redacted]
Ohio State University

[redacted] University
of California, and Cornelius
Cottler, Stanford University

Rowland Watts,
Workers' Defense League

For assistance in a study of the extreme
right in America

For a book on oaths and other efforts in
American history to assure or measure
loyalty

For completion of a book, First
Amendment Freedoms

For a study of interference with religious
freedom in California

For completion of a book on the loyalty-
security problem

For completion of the book Freedom's
Defense: The Kentucky and Virginia
Resolutions

For a study of the President's emergency
powers and their potential effect on civil
liberties

For a study of "undesirable" discharges
given drafted servicemen by the Army,
based on allegations regarding preinduction
activities or associations

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 29, 40.

DETAILS CONCERNING CERTAIN GRANTS AND PROJECTS

Congressional Investigative Procedure

In December, 1952, the Fund granted \$50,000 for the work of the Special Committee of the American Bar Association on Individual Rights as Affected by National Security. This committee selected as its first subject, Congressional Investigative Procedure. The following recommendations of this committee were adopted by the American Bar Association in August, 1954:

1. The jurisdiction of each Congressional investigating committee should be clearly defined by the resolution.
2. A majority of the committee should control such activities as the subject matter of preliminary inquiries; the authorization of investigations; the appointment and dismissal of staff members; the issuance of subpoenas and the propriety of a subpoena duces tecum, if challenged; the scheduling and type of hearings; the direction to the witness to answer a question over an objection; and the release of the contents of reports.
3. No hearings should be conducted with less than two committee members present.
4. Witnesses should be given adequate notice of scheduled hearings and be advised of the purpose of the investigations.
5. Witnesses should be afforded the right to counsel to attend all hearings; interpose objections to questions or the failure to follow procedural requirements and submit legal memoranda supporting the objections; be advised of his rights; and, within reasonable limits, ask clarifying questions and cross-examine adverse witnesses.

6. Witnesses should be permitted to make brief written or oral statements for the record relevant to their testimony and to explain their answers.
7. Witnesses should be entitled to an accurate transcript of the hearings, at reasonable cost, and be afforded an opportunity to make proper corrections.
8. Witnesses should be permitted, without prejudice, to testify with absence of radio or television coverage, provided the committee is given reasonable advance notice.
9. All witnesses should testify under oath.
10. Proceedings at executive sessions should be attended by only the committee members and staff and the witness and his attorney; proceedings at executive sessions should not be made public except where made part of the record at a public hearing or where the testimony discloses the possible violation of a law; where transcripts of proceedings at executive sessions are furnished to prosecuting authorities, a copy should also be made available to the witness at his request; any changes in form or substance which the witness desires to make in his testimony after examining the transcript should be made part of the record along with the witness' reasons therefor; the witness should be given reasonable advance notice of the committee's intention to use testimony received in executive session at a public hearing and be afforded an opportunity, at the public hearing, to explain his testimony.
11. Third parties who are identified or merely named at public hearings and who believe their reputations have been defamed should be permitted, at their request, to be subpoenaed to testify before the committee for the record or to file sworn statements which would be made part of the record.
12. Information in committee files relating to individuals should be treated as confidential.
13. The Vice President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the majority and minority leaders of both the Senate and

the House of Representatives should constitute an ad hoc committee to recommend whether or not a particular investigation is needed; how the investigation should be conducted; whether or not any special procedures should be adopted and, in an appellate sense, to supervise the application of all of the above principles.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 12, 24, 43-46

Survey of Communist Influence

In November, 1953, the Fund appropriated \$300,000 for an account of Communist influence in the major segments of "U. S. society." This "definitive study," which is expected to take from two to three years, is under the direction of Clinton Rossiter, Cornell University, who is being assisted by William M. Goldsmith of New York, New York. The individual studies which are to comprise this survey and the individuals who are preparing them are as follows:

History of the Communist Party in the United States (1919-1945):
Theodore Draper, New York, New York

Communism and Anti-Communism (1945-1950):
[redacted] Teachers College, Columbia University

Communism in the Labor Movement:
Daniel Bell, Fortune, New York, New York

Communism and Religion:
[redacted] Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York

Communism in Government:
Earl Latham, Amherst College

Communism and Education:
[redacted] Drake University

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Communism and the Arts:

Donald D. Egbert, Princeton University

Communism and Literature:

[redacted] Smith College

Communism and the Mass Media:

Moshe Decter, New York, New York

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Communism and the Social Structure:

[redacted] New York, New York

Communism and Science:

[redacted] Brown University

Communism and Opinion-Making Groups:

John Roche, Haverford College

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 13, 28, 37.

Rossiter reportedly anticipates that this project will result not only in a history of the Communist movement in the United States but also in an appraisal of the extent of Communist penetration into the major aspects of our society in the past as well as at the present. It is reported that Rossiter is of the opinion that while former Communists would be extremely useful as sources of information for this project, these individuals should not be employed as writers of any of the books. In accordance with this view, Rossiter reportedly attempted to secure the services of individuals who are considered experts in the various fields to be covered by the study but not

necessarily experts on Communism and who, at the same time, have not participated publicly "in the arguments over Communism and McCarthyism."

Cornell Daily Sun, Ithaca, New York,
February 17, 1955, p. 7.
(100-391697-76)

Attitudes of Teachers

In September, 1954, the Fund appropriated \$159,000 for a study of the attitudes of college and high school teachers, to determine if they have been intimidated by pressure groups.

Paul F. Lazarsfeld of Columbia University and Louis Harris, a partner of the firm Elmo Roper & Associates, are the codirectors of this study. An advisory committee for this study has also been established and includes the following:

Samuel A. Stouffer, director, Harvard University

Frank Stanton, president, Columbia Broadcasting System

Marie Jahoda, professor, New York University

Helen M. Lynd, professor, Sarah Lawrence College

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 16, 29, 38, 39.

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Blacklisting

In September, 1954, The Fund for the Republic, Inc., appropriated \$100,000 for a survey of blacklisting in the motion picture, radio and television industries. This survey will be directed by [redacted], formerly executive editor of The Commonweal, a lay Catholic magazine. [redacted] principal assistant is Michael Harrington.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 15, 16, 28

Paul Jacobs, consultant for the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor and a member of the board of the American Civil Liberties Union, is the west coast representative for this survey. (Hollywood Reporter, January 6, 1955)

Federal Loyalty-Security Program

In November, 1954, the Fund granted \$100,000 to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., for a study and report on the Federal Loyalty-Security program. The committee selected by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., to make this survey includes the following attorneys, who, unless otherwise specified, are from New York, New York:

Chairman, Dudley B. Bonsal

[redacted] Chicago

[redacted] Washington, D. C.

[redacted]
Monte M. Lemann, New Orleans, Louisiana
[redacted] Los Angeles, California

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Whitney North Seymour

Staff Director: Elliot E. Cheatham, professor,
Columbia University

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 14, 15, 24.

Survey of Housing for Minority Groups

In November, 1954, the Fund authorized \$100,000 for a comprehensive survey of housing for minority groups. To conduct this survey, the Fund has established a Commission on Race and Housing whose members are :

Chairman: Earl B. Schwulst, chairman of the board,
president and trustee of the Bowery Savings Bank,
New York, New York

Gordon W. Allport, professor, Harvard University

Elliott V. Bell, chairman, executive committee,
and director, McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, Inc.,
editor and publisher, Business Week, New York, New York

Laird Bell, attorney, Chicago, Illinois

Reverend John J. Cavanaugh, C.S.C., director
of the University of Notre Dame Foundation,
South Bend, Indiana

[redacted]
William A. White and Sons, New York, New York

Charles S. Johnson, president, Fisk University

[redacted] Keller Construction
Corporation, New Orleans, Louisiana

Clark Kerr, chancellor, University of California at Berkeley

Philip M. Klutznick, chairman of the board, American
Community Builders, Inc., Park Forest, Illinois

Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief, Time, Life, Fortune,
Sports Illustrated, Architectural Forum, and House and Home,
New York, New York

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[redacted] Neiman-Marcus, Dallas, Texas

[redacted] Old Colony Paint & Chemical
Company, Los Angeles, California

[redacted] Melville Shoe Corporation, New York,
New York

Francis T. P. Plimpton, attorney, New York, New York

[redacted] The Philadelphia Savings
Fund Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

[redacted]
Illinois Federal Savings and Loan Association, Chicago, Illinois

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1965, pp. 19, 20, 29.

Reference Service for Attorneys

In November, 1954, the Fund appropriated \$21,000 for a reference service for attorneys defending individuals in connection with the loyalty-security program. [redacted], and [redacted] of the Yale University Law School prepared a statement of laws and regulations relating to the loyalty-security program.

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Support of Legal Referral Services on Security Cases

In May, 1955, the Fund appropriated \$65,000 to support legal referral services on security cases. It entered an agreement with the Bureau of National Affairs whereby the latter organization will follow the changes in laws and regulations as well as pertinent decisions of courts and administrative tribunals relating to loyalty-security cases.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 15, 30.

Study of Tenure Laws

In April, 1955, The Fund for the Republic, Inc. granted \$10,000 to the American Academic Freedom project of Columbia University. This sum will be used for a study of tenure laws and practices in American colleges and universities. Pilot studies are to be made in California, Illinois and Pennsylvania.

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Clark Byse, Professor of Law at the University of Pennsylvania,
and [redacted] of the American Civil Liberties Union,
are the codirectors of this study.

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Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 16, 25

Censorship

The Fund is also assisting "a concerted attack on the problem
of censorship" which is being led by J. Russell Wiggins, executive editor,
The Washington Post and Times Herald.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 16, 17

Classics on Freedom

The Fund, in addition, has completed arrangements with the
Audiobook Company under which four phonograph records containing excerpts
from the classics on freedom will be produced.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 21

FUND PRODUCTIONS

Completed Productions Are Few

Because of the scope of many of the Fund's projects and since many of them were initiated only within the past year, there are comparatively few completed productions which can be attributed to the activities of the Fund. Those which have been finished are set forth below:

Compilation of Statutes and Executive Orders on Loyalty-Security

In November, 1954, the Fund appropriated \$21,000 for the preparation of a compilation of laws and regulations relating to the loyalty-security program. This research was performed by [redacted] and [redacted] of the Yale Law School.

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Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 15, 30

In December, 1954, it was reported that they had furnished the Fund a 101-page compilation of statutes, executive orders, and other regulations pertaining to the loyalty-security program.

The New York Times,
December 22, 1954, p. 1

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Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties

In June, 1953, the Fund appropriated \$185,500 for a survey of American attitudes toward Communism and civil liberties. The committee which prepared this study included the following:

Chairman: Samuel A. Stouffer, director,
Harvard University

Porter R. Chandler, attorney, New York, New York

Roscoe Drummond, chief, Washington Bureau,
New York Herald Tribune, Washington, D. C.

Paul F. Lazarsfeld, professor, Columbia University

Cornell University

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Frank Stanton, president, Columbia Broadcasting
System, New York, New York

Logan Wilson, president, University of Texas

The results of this survey were published as a book by Stouffer entitled, Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties, by Doubleday & Company in 1955.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 13, 28, 38

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Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the
United States and Digest of the Public Record of
Communism in the United States

In June, 1953, the Fund appropriated \$34,500 for a study of official records relating to Communist activity. The committee which prepared this study included the following:

Chairman: Arthur E. Sutherland, professor,
Harvard University

[redacted]
Washington University

[redacted]
Georgetown University

Clinton Rossiter, professor, Cornell
University

Staff Director: [redacted] Stanford University

As a result of this study, two volumes entitled, Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States and Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States were published by the Fund in 1955. These books have been distributed by the Fund to university, research and public libraries.

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Microfilm of Court Cases on Communist Activities

Under the \$84,500 appropriation, the Fund has also furnished microfilm records of the most important court cases on Communist activities to some of the larger libraries throughout the country.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 12, 13, 28, 38

Case Studies in Personnel Security

In June, 1954, The Fund for the Republic, Inc., appropriated \$100,000 for a compilation of the facts on individual cases under the loyalty-security program. This survey was directed by Adam Yarmolinsky, Washington, D. C., attorney. He was assisted by an advisory committee which included the following Washington, D. C., attorneys:

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Herbert L. Packer

Paul C. Warnke

In 1955, a book entitled, Case Studies in Personnel Security, edited by Yarmolinsky, was published by The Bureau of National Affairs. It includes summaries of fifty case histories of individuals whose cases

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b7c

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were processed under the various Federal personnel security programs.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 15, 28, 39

The Draftee and Internal Security

In November, 1954, the Fund authorized a program of fellowships and grants-in-aid and appropriated \$115,000 for this project. Rowland Watts, National Secretary of the Workers' Defense League, received a grant-in-aid from the Fund for a study of "undesirable" discharges given drafted servicemen by the Army based on pre-induction activities or associations.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 40

In 1955, a two-volume work entitled The Draftee and Internal Security, by Watts was released by the Workers' Defense League, New York, New York. Volume I sets forth Watts' analysis and conclusions regarding the Army Military Personnel Security program as it affects draftees. Volume II sets forth, in outline form, 49 case studies out of the 110 cases reviewed by Watts.

Film Distribution

The Fund has also furnished to schools and groups concerned with public affairs, an enlarged film version of Edward R. Murrow's television interview with J. Robert Oppenheimer.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 21

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LITERATURE PUBLISHED OR AUTHORIZED BY

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE COMMUNIST PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES

Published by The Fund for the Republic, Inc., New York City,
Copyright, 1955.

In describing the scope of this bibliography the "Introduction"

states:

"This bibliography is primarily devoted to literature relating to Communism in the United States since the birth, in 1919, of the first American parties adopting the Communist label. The main bibliography is supplemented by five appendices. Appendix I is a short selected bibliography dealing with native American radicalism and the antecedents of organized Communism. Appendix II is a short selected bibliography dealing with the ideology of Communism, and Communism in areas of the world outside the United States. Appendix III is a list of Communist and left-wing periodicals which a systematic student of Communism would probably wish to consult. Included is information about the dates of publication, publisher, and availability of each periodical. Appendix IV is a short reading list of material which the compilers of the bibliography recommend to the serious but busy reader, anxious to inform himself, who lacks time to make an exhaustive study of Communism in the United States. Appendix V describes the collection of microfilms of Communist trials which the Fund for the Republic has made available at a number of libraries."

pp. ix-x.

DIGEST OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OF COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Published by The Fund for the Republic, Inc., New York City,
Copyright, 1955.

In describing this volume the "Foreword" says"

"... Ever since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 various state governments and the Government of the United States have conducted a great number of public proceedings--prosecutions in courts, legislation and legislative hearings, various forms of executive action concerning Communists and Communism. Records of these proceedings have, in most cases, been carefully preserved. In many instances the information contained in them has been to some extent authenticated by the effect of the adversary process, each side bringing out weaknesses in the other's contentions. Such records contain a vast amount of information about the organization and doctrines of Communists in the United States and about the reaction of the people of this country.

"In June 1953 the Board of Directors of The Fund for the Republic underwrote a study of these records and the publication of the results. This Digest* is one of the products...."

"The present volume undertakes to collect in one place, readily available to any person desiring to familiarize himself with the Communist problem, digests or extracts of public records of the most significant executive action, legislation and legislative committee proceedings, and court proceedings relevant to this question in the United States. The principal value of this Digest* will be as a source book for those who will, it is hoped, make further analytical studies of the entire subject."

p. vii

*Italicized in the original.

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COMMUNISM, CONFORMITY, AND CIVIL LIBERTIES
By Samuel A. Stouffer

Published by Doubleday & Company, Inc.,
Garden City, New York, Copyright, 1955.

Senator Clifford P. Case says in the "Introduction":

"This study was authorized by the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic during the period I served as President of the Fund. . . ."

p. 9.

The comments on the paper jacket of this book furnish
this information:

"In the summer of 1954 a nationwide survey was made to sound out America's attitude toward the threat of Communism, its feeling about conformity, and its respect for civil liberties. Over 500 skilled interviewers from two national research agencies, the American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup Poll) and the National Opinion Research Center of Chicago University, surveyed more than 6000 Americans in all parts of the country and in all walks of life-- some 5000 average citizens and 1500 local community leaders. . . ."

It was "Completed at a cost of \$125,000. . . ."

In Chapter Three the author says:

"For the purposes of the present study, the most significant finding is the absence* of striking evidence of deep personal concern among the majority about either the Communist threat or the threat to civil

*Italicized in the original.

liberties. Even among the community leaders, personal, family, and business problems clearly take high priority among their anxieties, along with other world, national, and local issues."

"There are some people whose anxiety is aroused because they think the actions to repress the Communist threat have generated a climate that puts civil rights in jeopardy. From the spontaneous expressions we have been reviewing, it would appear that such people are very few in number in the total population."

"How shall we interpret the finding that only 5% of the community leaders and only 2% of the national cross-section say, even on a check-list question, that they are personally 'much' bothered about infringement of their right to speak their minds? It is a finding consistent with evidence offered earlier in this chapter that the vast majority do not experience a serious assault on their civil liberties"

"...a picture of the average American as a person with the jitters, trembling lest he find a Red under the bed, is clearly nonsense. There may be such Americans, but they are very few in number. Moreover, very few have experienced any personal threat to their freedom of speech or are really worried about the threat to civil liberties in general...."

"Of course one must not draw the inference from this chapter that the internal Communist menace or the chipping away of civil liberties does not constitute a serious problem merely because the general public is not deeply anxious about either of these problems...."

pp. 74, 76, 82, 87-88.

LITERATURE DISTRIBUTED BY THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

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DISTRIBUTION OF BOOKS, ARTICLES, AND OTHER MATERIAL

In addition to publishing and sponsoring literature, The Fund for the Republic has also distributed material considered to be pertinent to its aims and objectives. The Report of the Fund advises:

"The following materials, distributed by the Fund, are listed by title, author, source, number distributed, and main audience to which they were circulated."

p. 41

Banned Books by Anne Lyon Haight. Book. 275 distributed to May 31. Librarians and library trustees.

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. Special issue on loyalty-security. 25,000 copies. Lists selected by publisher.

Cornell Series in Civil Liberties. Books. Cornell University Press. Fund personnel; lists selected by publisher.

Faceless Informers and Our Schools by Lawrence Martin. Pamphlet. Denver Post. 25,000 copies. State School Board Associations.

Freedom Award Speeches. Pamphlet. Freedom House. 600 copies. National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

Government by Investigation by Alan Barth. Book. 850 copies. Lists selected by publisher.

Grand Inquest by Telford Taylor. Book. 450 copies. Federal Bench.

Open Occupancy Housing. *Article. House and Home. 15,000 copies. National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing; others in race relations field.

*Actual title of article is "Open Occupancy."

See It Now. Murrow-Oppenheimer television interview. One hundred ten 16 mm. prints. Educational institutions; civic organizations; local discussion groups.

See It Now. Television program on book censorship in California. Five 16 mm. prints. Southern California civic groups.

Strong in Their Pride and Free by Harry P. Cain. Speech. 3,000 copies. National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

The Fifth Amendment Today by Erwin N. Griswold. Book. 35,000 copies. Bench and bar.

The Kept Witnesses by Richard H. Rovere. Article. Harper's. 25,000 copies. Labor officials; business executives.

The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt by Richard Hofstadter. Article. American Scholar. 25,000 copies. Business executives; educators; churchmen.

To Insure the End of Our Hysteria by Paul G. Hoffman. Article. The New York Times Magazine. 10,000 copies. Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; American Dental Association.

To Make Our Security System Secure by Vannevar Bush. Article. The New York Times Magazine. 10,000 copies. Educators.

Who "Collaborated" with Russia? by Paul Willen. Article. Antioch Review. 600 copies. National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 41-42

Report on the Security Problem by a Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate (erroneously labelled by the Fund as it actually was a "statement by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey inserted into the (Congressional) Record by him in support of Senate Joint Resolution 21 to establish a Commission on Government Security").

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A BRIEF CONSIDERATION OF THIS LITERATURE DISTRIBUTED

Quotations and Comments

In order that this literature may be better understood, considered in perspective and more clearly related to the objectives and activities of The Fund for the Republic, representative quotations will be set forth portraying basic ideas or descriptive information furnished by the authors and others who may write introductions. Also, an occasional comment will be made to clarify different points.

Banned Books by Anne Lyon Haight

Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged

R. R. Eowker Company, New York, 1955

Copyright, 1935, 1955

On describing her book in the "Preface" the author writes:

"This book is based on my first edition of Banned Books* published in 1935, which in turn was based on an exhibition held that same year at the Junior League of the City of New York. This chronological list of books banned from 1837 B. C. to 1954 has been compiled with the idea of showing the trend of censorship throughout the years and the change in thought and taste.

"Most of the books fall under a ban because of religion, politics or morality, making the offense one of heresy, treason or obscenity. . . .

"The wartime censorship in the United States which functioned from 1942 to 1945 concerned the press more

*Italicized in the original.

than it did books as its aim was to prevent the publication of news which might aid the enemy, but some books have been listed here which were under fire for subversive reasons or because their authors were accused of having subversive opinions."

p. v

Morris L. Ernst in the "Introduction" offers some views which include these:

"Literary obscenity is the newest toy of the frightened, and obviously varies among cultures depending upon the sexual folkways. . . ."

"With the advent of Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin, a combination of fears--obscenity and sedition--crept into the national patterns. Dictators fear and hence create fears. In Spain under Franco, the twin fears seem to be blasphemy and obscenity. In our own Republic at this time we find two fears, one known as McCarthyism and the other an apparent spurt in the drive against sexual material in books, a drive which apparently exempts the daily press."

"Despite random comment of loose-tongued, frightened people, there is as yet little reason to believe that the written word has a provable causal relation to behavior. However, I suspect that the effect, if any, is more often in the direction of acts of omission than commission. For example, a 'good' girl reads about the Fairy Prince, who fails to appear for her. So unwilling to marry a lesser Prince, she lives out her life in needless solitary virginity! . . ."

pp. xlii, xiv, xv

On commenting about the Founding Fathers and the Constitution

Mr. Ernst informs us:

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"... We have adopted the myth that the Founding Fathers were against censorship and that the First Amendment to the Constitution guaranteed freedom of thought. Nothing can be further from the truth...."

Ibid., p. xv

It is of interest to note that Mr. Ernst does not seem to be in agreement with the men of the Fund who advise that the basis of their action in behalf of freedom and our civil liberties is founded upon the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. Published monthly (except during July and August) by the Educational Foundation for Nuclear Science, Inc., 5734 University Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois.

The issue under discussion is a special issue dated April 1955, Volume XI, Number 4. It contains a series of articles on Secrecy, Security, and Loyalty.

The first article is entitled "Security and Science Sacrificed to Loyalty" by Edward Shils of the University of Chicago. It is an indicator of the essence of most of the sixteen articles which follow it and which will not be discussed here for their orientation can be gathered from this first article and from their titles.

Professor Shils opens his article with this statement:

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"The Loyalty-Security issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* appears at a moment when signs of light are beginning to break through the long unrelieved darkness of our loyalty-security policy. The Administration has announced specific changes in procedure and organization which might make its measures more just. Congress is discussing the establishment of machinery to survey our entire loyalty-security policy in a comprehensive way which will have more regard for justice, liberty, and security than previous policies have shown; the Bars of New York City and Washington are manifesting a renewed sense of responsibility, and the brilliant speech of former Senator Harry Cain is expressive of the heightened awareness among the leaders of the American people that affairs have been allowed to drift into a disgraceful state. In the calm permitted by the silence of the congressional investigating committees, a more realistic perspective on loyalty and security begins to become possible. There are now grounds for hope that the hounding of dissidence, innocent of treason, will come to a halt."

"From the very beginning scientists have been troubled by the security-loyalty regulations. It was not because there were Communists and fellow-travellers among them--there were a few, but they were uninfluential--and it was not because the scientists had long reflected on justice, the rule of law, and the principles of freedom. The scientists were the first Americans to feel, with all its force, the impact of security-loyalty requirements."

p. 103

***Italicized in the original.**

Professor Shils concludes with this thought:

"... For several years, the moderate, the respectable, and serious elements in our political elite have allowed themselves to be bullied and misled by a very small minority of vociferous demagogues and their febrile popular following. The moderates, fearing that they were perhaps out of touch with the true course of opinion, accepted the leadership, the perspective, and the standards of a handful of men who claimed to speak for the populace. Nothing could have been less justified or more unwise.

"The time has now come for these errors of judgment and political tactics to be rectified. Let the respectable moderates, the true liberals in both parties, take the lead in the rediscovery of the obviously sensible thing to do about security--to make secure what needs to be secure for purposes of national military strength--and let all else go free...."

p. 130

The titles and authors of the remaining sixteen articles in this special issue of Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists are as follows:

"Realism and Common Sense in Security Policy"
By Raymond Aron

"Loyalty-Security Measures and Employment Opportunities"
By Ralph S. Brown, Jr.

"The Unsystematic Security System"
By Harold Green

"The Impact of Government Information and Security Controls on Competitive Industry"
By J. G. Beckerley

"Control of Information under the Atomic Energy Act of 1954"
By Herbert S. Marks and George F. Trowbridge

"The AEC Security Program: Past and Present"
By John G. Palfrey

"The Impact of the Loyalty-Security Measures on the State Department"
By Eans J. Morgenthau

"Observations in the Relations between Science and the State"
By Daniel Dubarle, O. P.

"The Task of the Security Officer"
By Samuel Goudsmit

"Fort Monmouth One Year Later"
By Scientists' Committee on Loyalty and Security

"Some Individual Cases"
By Scientists' Committee on Loyalty and Security

**"Security Requirements for Government Employment;
Executive Order 10450"**

"AEC Criteria for Security Clearance"

"A British View of American Security Policy"
By Alastair Hetherington

"What Is a Security Risk"
By Lee A. DuBridg

"Toward a Positive Security Program"
By John B. Phelps, Ralph S. Brown, Jr., and Samuel A. Goudsmit

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A great amount of thought has been expended in writing these articles. It is not believed necessary to comment on them here for the general nature of each article can be ascertained from the title. Further, no condensation could do justice to the diversity, complexity and seriousness of the articles referred to here. They require a full reading.

Cornell Series in Civil Liberties

Professor Robert E. Cushman of Cornell University and the Advisory Editor of this series explains that this series was

"...made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to Cornell University. Beginning in 1948 a group of scholars working individually under my direction have studied the impact upon our civil liberties of current governmental programs designed to ensure internal security and to expose and control disloyal or subversive conduct. The research has covered the work of Federal and state 'un-American activities' committees and the operation of Federal, state and local loyalty and security programs. The first report, published in 1950, was Security, Loyalty and Science,* by Professor Walter Gellhorn of the Columbia University School of Law. This dealt with the problems of Government-imposed secrecy in scientific investigation and the loyalty and security clearance procedures applicable to Government scientists. This was followed in 1951 by The Tenney Committee,* by Edward L. Barrett, Jr., Professor of Law at Berkeley; Un-American Activities in the State of Washington,* by Vern Countryman, Associate Professor of Law at Yale; and Loyalty and Legislative

*Italicized in the original.

Action,* by Lawrence H. Chamberlain, Dean of Columbia College. These volumes present the records of legislative loyalty investigations in the states of California, Washington, and New York. In 1952 appeared The States and Subversion*, edited by Walter Gellhorn. This contained chapters on six states together with a general analysis of the problems posed by state efforts to deal with the problem of loyalty. Also in 1952 appeared The House Committee on Un-American Activities,* by Professor Robert K. Carr of Dartmouth, a thorough and objective study of that important and controversial group. Miss Bontecou's present volume will be followed by a final book in which I shall present briefly my own views on the central problems comprised in the entire study."

"Editor's Preface," p. vii
The Federal Loyalty-Security Program
by Eleanor Bontecou, Cornell University
Press, Ithaca, New York, Copyright,
1953

Elsewhere Professor Cushman has written of this Cornell

series:

"The volumes in this series state the views, conclusions, and recommendations of the individual authors. There has, of course, been consultation and discussion among the group engaged in the entire study. Valuable aid and criticism has been received from a number of distinguished persons outside this group. Each volume, however, remains the work, and states the opinions, of the person who wrote it."

"Preface," p. vi of Un-American Activities in the State of Washington
by Vern Countryman, Cornell University
Press, Ithaca, New York, Copyright,
1951

*Italicized in the original.

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The books in this series will be referred to in the order in which they were published.

Security, Loyalty, and Science

By

Walter Gellhorn

Professor of Law in Columbia University
Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York
Copyright, 1950

In his "Introduction" Professor Gellhorn of Columbia University makes this statement:

"...Special squads of FBI agents are given technical indoctrination courses and are then stationed in AEC laboratories...."

pp. 2-3

This statement by Professor Gellhorn is absolutely false in its entirety. The FBI never had such squads, or for that matter individual agents serving in such a capacity.

In his "Introduction" Professor Gellhorn also points out:

"...The position of scientists in contemporary society has been sharply affected by collective fear of Communist influences at home and abroad as threats to American security and independence. The Communists and their more or less formal allies have a scant record of accomplishment or influence in this country. But they are linked ideologically and emotionally to the Soviet Union, the only nation remotely capable of forcefully challenging the military dominance of the United States.

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Hence they are generally the object of the distrust and disquietude which reflect America's tensions...."

"A further word needs to be said about espionage in this era of international friction. Many persons of wide experience and cool judgment regard our present position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union as perilous in the extreme. In this situation, which borders on national emergency, security measures become not only palatable but essential. Moreover, the case of Klaus Fuchs, the British atomic scientist who confessed to a long course of betrayal, has underscored the fact that treachery is more than a theoretical possibility.

"Fuchs was an outstanding and trusted scientific worker. His self-exposure as a spy produced an altogether understandable shock of alarm. Fuchs's unmasking is a salutary reminder that in any large group of highly placed men, there may be some who are corrupt or cowardly or hostile...."

"But the lesson of the Fuchs case will have been utterly missed if we blindly accept ever more rigid controls in the hope that security will thus, and only thus, be won. The Russians' achievement of a bomb may indeed have been materially advanced by Fuchs's messages. Responsible scientists, however, are agreed that espionage (even by one so well-informed as was Fuchs) could have had no effectiveness whatsoever unless the Soviet Union were already capable of exploiting the known facts. In the editorial words of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, * 'No spying could have enabled a scientifically and industrially backward state to produce an atomic bomb in five, six, or twenty years.' Fuchs's dereliction of duty was grave. So, too, would be the misdeeds of other spies who may conceivably have found employment in American scientific establishments....

*Italicized in the original.

Grave as they could perhaps be, those misdeeds might still cost the United States less dearly than would excessively rigorous controls, ..."

pp. 5, 7, 8

The "Concluding Thoughts" of Professor Gellhorn's last chapter are in essence the same as those expressed in his "Introduction."

He writes:

"... The programs are candidly directed at Communists, who are regarded as the disciplined tools of a foreign power. But the inquiries the Government pursues go far wide of their mark. Effectively if unintentionally, the focus upon opinion as a measure of loyalty tends to discourage the holding of any opinion at all." ..."

"... Is it not arguable that the impact of our safety policies upon unpopular persuasions is merely incidental, while their real thrust is against international conspirators who masquerade as honest men? Of course that is the policies' intended direction. The difference between aim and effect is a consequence of inquiring into the beliefs and sympathies of vast numbers of individuals, on the wholly unsubstantiated theory that unsound opinion is the equivalent of unsound conduct, advocacy the equivalent of action. This is the defective core of the programs as now framed and administered.

"In times like the present it is not comfortable to advise the alteration of programs that have as their declared goal the confusion of the nation's enemies. But in the

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field of science, as these chapters have sought to show, the loyalty and security programs have made only small and highly debatable advances toward the goal. Such as those advances were, they have been gained too dearly...."

pp. 232, 233

The Tenney Committee

By

Edward L. Barrett, Jr.
Professor of Law, University
of California, Berkeley, California
Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York
Copyright, 1951

Professor Barrett says in the "Introduction" :

"The whole subject of public control of subversive activities is highly controversial and it is obviously impossible to escape from one's own point of view in dealing with it. . . . Even though I believe that all persons including Communists are entitled to full constitutional protection in their lawful activities, I am by conviction quite opposed to communism both in theory and in its practice by the international Communist Party. I dislike totalitarianism in all its forms and find particularly offensive those individuals who deliberately seek to advance the cause of totalitarianism under the guise of an interest in improving the lot of the poor and oppressed. On the other hand, I have no illusion that our system is perfect. I am in favor of attempts to improve social and economic arrangements within the framework of our democratic institutions. I believe that the non-communist left (whether or not I happen to agree with its aims and methods in particular cases) is an essential part of our society and must be preserved. I am convinced that the native agitator, without ties to a foreign ideology and operating within the rules of our democratic system, performs the invaluable function

of calling attention to the dark and festering parts of our system. And, therefore, I believe that legislative committees investigating subversive activities should be judged by their ability to reduce the influence and effectiveness of totalitarian groups without seriously endangering democratic pressures for improvement of the economic and social structure of our country."

pp. x, xi

The author says: "Perhaps a case can also be made for the Communists. See Gerald W. Johnson, 'Why Communists Are Valuable,' Harpers Magazine, 200 (Jan., 1950), 93."

p. xi

In his "Appraisal" of the Tenney Committee of California the author writes:

"There are no scales that can tell us accurately whether in the balance the activities of the Tenney committee were of service or disservice to the state. In such a highly controversial field each man's vision is clouded by his own preconceptions and limited by his own experience.

"Men of ability with genuine interest in the public welfare hold widely differing opinions concerning the committee....

"But one thing is certain. By the middle of 1949 the Tenney committee had lost the respect not only of the left but also of important segments of the community on the middle of the scale. Its methods, tactics, and operations were being condemned..."

"The legislature should, I believe, give serious consideration to the wisdom of continuing an un-American activities committee as a regular, operating agency of the state government. Such a committee operates almost entirely without the checks that we impose on other governmental agencies. Courts are unable to exercise any significant restraint on its activities. The legislature reviews its work in only a very generalized fashion when voting on its appropriations. The normal political restraints on legislative activity have a much weaker impact on it because of the political benefit which is thought to flow from the widespread publicity given to sensational charges. And within the committee itself little check is given to the activities of the chairman. By tradition in California he operates the committee, and its members merely rubber-stamp his work.

"Furthermore, such a committee has the power to do great damage to the state. Since charges of communism are easily made and difficult to disprove, the reputation and perhaps even the means of livelihood of any of our citizens can be destroyed. Legitimate and democratic attempts to improve social and economic conditions in the state can be stifled by attempts to impose standards of political orthodoxy. (23) And, paradoxically, the power and influence of the Communists can be increased by legislative investigations that confuse the Communist and noncommunist left and attribute to the Communists all movements for reform."

pp. 330-331, 353-354

"(23) An editorial in the Los Angeles Daily News* for January 7, 1950, dealing with the impact of the Tenney and Thomas committees on liberal movements contained the following statement: 'In Los Angeles we find Communists do not seem to have suffered too much by it all for they have a way of thriving on attacks and adverse publicity. But liberalism, which Communists dislike as much, apparently, as the reactionaries, has suffered with the result that any organized movement that starts here for progressive improvement of conditions is howled down or smeared as 'Red.'"

*Italicized in the original.

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Professor Barrett also makes this interesting observation:

"... Very few people are open and avowed members of the Communist Party and very few organizations are openly controlled by it. The individuals most dangerous to our Security are those whose Party connection or sympathy is not avowed...."

p. 346

Un-American Activities in the State of Washington

By

Vern Countryman

Associate Professor of Law, Yale University

Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York

Copyright, 1951

The "Introduction" of this book contains the following point:

"Compared with the investigations of the Tenney Committee in California and the House Committee on Un-American Activities in the United States Congress, the Washington investigation was a brief episode. But its importance cannot be measured by its length. Its ramifications are already traceable to the deliberations of a committee of the United States Senate, to a decision of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, and to action by the University of Washington that has raised a national issue in educational policy. The consequences of the investigation will directly affect the lives of many people in the state for years to come. And in a day when investigations of this sort are in fashion, those consequences are of more than local concern."

p. vii

✓
After reviewing the activities of the Committee, the author's last chapter is devoted to "An Appraisal." Here Professor Countryman writes:

"The Canwell committee concerned itself almost exclusively with the political beliefs and associations of the people it investigated...."

"Very little of the evidence accumulated in the Washington investigation discloses activities of any sort--most of it is confined to matters of individual belief and affiliation. True, it is a currently popular theory that affiliation--where it is affiliation with the Communist Party--involves participating in a 'conspiracy' to overthrow the government by force and violence, and that every member of the party is therefore vicariously responsible for the activities of all of his 'co-conspirators.' And support for this theory is drawn from the Supreme Court's recent affirmance of the conviction of eleven leaders of the Communist Party on such a 'conspiracy' theory. This theory is, of course, but another application of the doctrine of guilt by association, which evades the difficult problem of proving individual wrongdoing by assuming it. And, while our legal system does recognize a crime of conspiracy which 'is so vague that it almost defies definition,' and which has now been extended to reach national officers of the Communist Party, it has not yet been extended to reach every member of the party.!!.."

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"The activities of the Canwell committee and its allies are clearly more subversive of established legal processes than any activities disclosed by the committee's investigation....

"The resolution which created the Canwell committee authorized it to 'investigate... individuals, groups or organizations whose activities are such as to indicate a purpose to foment internal strife, discord and dissension; infiltrate and undermine the stability of our American institutions; confuse and mislead the people; and impede the normal progress of our state and nation.' On this record, the only activities which clearly indicate the proscribed purpose are those of the Canwell committee and some of its supporters."

pp. 332, 391-392, 396

Loyalty and Legislative Action

By

Lawrence H. Chamberlain

Dean of Columbia College

Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York

Copyright, 1951

In this book the author, Dean Chamberlain of Columbia College, "analyzes thirty years of legislative control of subversive activity in the state of New York."

p. vi

On making this analysis Dean Chamberlain poses the following question:

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"What conclusions may be drawn from the foregoing account of a state legislature's efforts to deal with the threat of subversive activity during the past thirty years?..."

p. 203

Dean Chamberlain gives these answers:

"New York experience with legislative investigations of disloyalty, as represented by the Lusk, McNaboe, and Rapp-Coudert committees, presents a record of startling contrasts and disconcerting similarities. When examined against the background of the excesses and egregious nonsense of the Lusk and McNaboe investigations, the Rapp-Coudert inquiry seems exemplary, yet it must share with its more infamous predecessors the onus of smearing innocent people and of employing offensive procedures.

"The Lusk committee violated almost every canon of responsible conduct. Neither the committee chairman nor his counsel and staff respected the customary limitations of orderly procedure. Not only did they as a common practice employ the tactics of the side-show barker and the old-time patent medicine hawker, they ranged recklessly over the entire area of individual rights with wanton disregard for such fundamentals as separation of powers or due process of law. It would be unreasonable to expect meritorious conduct or salutary results under these circumstances. The natural course would be to write off the Lusk investigation as a perversion and attribute its iniquities to this unfortunate happenstance. One does not appraise an institution or process upon the basis of the most degenerate sample.

"Something of the same order of logic might be applied to the McNaboe investigation. Its brief chaotic existence was so marred by the ridiculous fulminations of the committee chairman that no one took it seriously enough for great harm to be done. Everyone recognized the highly personal nature of this particular exhibition and regarded it as disgraceful, but its excesses were not charged against the legislative investigation as an institution.

"All the more disturbing, therefore, must be the reaction to the Rapp-Coudert committee. Here was an investigation tarnished by none of the hypocrisy or the buffoonery of its two predecessors. Those charged with its conduct were persons of integrity conscious of the responsibility under which they carried out their directive. All the evidence indicates that the Rapp-Coudert investigation was conducted by reasonable people with a high sense of personal honor and a keen desire to operate within the spirit of American democratic institutions. For these reasons it is particularly disquieting to face the fact that the record of the investigation reveals so many shortcomings. It proceeded from challengeable assumptions, employed procedures that produced unnecessary personal hardship and mental anxiety, and established precedents which weakened traditional principles of civil liberties and academic freedom." "

"... Its conduct was at all times well within the canons of legality; it indulged in none of the raids or searches and seizures which were standard operating procedure for the Lusk committee. Yet early in its work it accepted the view that its chief task was that of identifying Communists-- a function smacking more of police work than of an investigating committee."

Apropos to the last point made in the preceding paragraph

Dean Chamberlain points out:

"Some thoughtful observers have reached the conclusion that subversive activity is not a matter that can be profitably investigated by legislative committees...."

p. 203

Dean Chamberlain further states:

"The survey of New York experience suggests that whenever subversive activity becomes the subject of investigation by a politically constituted committee it is difficult to prevent injustices from occurring or innocent persons from being injured. One reason for this is the amorphous, undefinable character of subversive activity. What to one group is subversive is to another merely criticism. Another reason is that even granted that a particular act or course of action is subversive (destructive), it cannot be proscribed or rooted out without doing serious injury to our traditional privilege of free speech, which includes free criticism of existing governmental institutions and officials. Still another reason--one particularly pertinent in the case of communism--is that decision is derived by formula rather than based on tangible factual evidence. Once the factor of communism enters the picture, individuals suspected of being Communists*--proof is rarely established--are assumed to be invested with all the qualities, objectives, and fanatical zeal of the most dedicated party operative on record."

pp. 204-205

*Italicized in the original.

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On discussing the question of Communist teachers Dean Chamberlain, among other things, raises these questions:

"This leads to another aspect of this problem--one that renders even more complicated the doctrine that Communist teachers should be liquidated. How does one identify a Communist? What problems does the question of identification raise? What price can be considered reasonable for purging Communists? How many non-Communists should also be purged because they cannot prove beyond peradventure of doubt that they are not Communists? If one subscribes to the thesis that Communists per se are dangerous, then anyone who acts enough like a Communist to fall under suspicion--of the most suspicious person--must also be removed in order to be on the safe side. Where does it end?..."

p. 220

In view of what Dean Chamberlain considers to be great difficulties involved in accurately proving a person to be a Communist he writes:

"All of this should raise serious doubts as to the efficacy of a procedure which depends for its usefulness upon verification that frequently cannot be obtained. The administering authority must either permit some Communists to continue in employment (because incontrovertible proof cannot be adduced), thus defeating the purpose of the rule, or it must wield its axe freely and cut adrift all who may be Communists because they cannot prove their innocence. In the latter instance not only are innocent persons injured but all teachers are put on notice that the only course of action open if they wish to retain their jobs is to play it safe, to become routineers, yes men, Caspar Milquetoasts."

p. 221

*Italicized in the original.

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The States and Subversion
Edited by Walter Gellhorn
Professor of Law, Columbia University
Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York
Copyright, 1952

This book, edited by Professor Gellhorn, consists of a series of articles by different men relating to the efforts made by various states to combat subversion.

In chapter II, entitled "Illinois" and written by Mr. E. Houston Harsha when he was at the Chicago Law School the following conclusions are set forth:

"...On the one hand, the commission failed to investigate that area of political activity ordinarily suspected of subversion, and on the other, the commission departed from its own frame of reference by conducting inquiries into the opinions and associations of persons whom even the commission did not accuse of subversion.".."

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"...In essence the commission concluded that schools should be punished for employing professors who, though not engaged in subversive activities in performing their academic duties, were associated with disapproved organizations. This is guilt by association with a vengeance...."

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"But quite apart from the broad consideration of inroads on basic civil liberties, the Broyles commission stands condemned by its own record as an antisubversive

investigative agency which failed to find subversion yet lacked the good grace to say so. The oblivion to which the legislature consigned the Broyles commission should cause no regret."

pp. 135, 137, 138, 139

In chapter III entitled "Maryland," written by William B. Prendergast who is described in 1951 as being "Assistant Professor of Government in the United States Naval Academy," these estimates of the subject are found:

"The legislature of Maryland and the Ober commission have declared the Communist movement to be a clear and present danger to the United States. And so it is. It is possibly the greatest danger this nation has ever faced. But the Ober commission has exaggerated the strength and the influence of domestic Communists. The handful of Communists at home could rise to the stature of a real menace only in the event of war between the United States and Russia or of a major depression.

"That Russia has a fifth column in the United States in the ranks of the Communist Party is hardly open to question. That American Communists are capable of some serious mischief in time of war is almost equally certain. On these considerations is built the strongest case that can be made for the Ober Act, a case which is buttressed by the war in Korea. The Ober Act may afford protection against espionage and sabotage as well as against lesser impediments to the efficient prosecution of a war. Yet doubt remains as to whether state or national agencies are better equipped to provide such protection.

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"A depression in the United States might turn its victims to communism and make the Communist Party an important political force. Here again is a threat against which the Ober Act may offer some protection. Obviously the law does not attack the cause of the danger. Even if efficacious, it would be a highly undesirable method of supporting existing economic and social arrangements. From every point of view it is better to drain the swamps in which Communists breed than to try to exterminate the Communists themselves."

pp. 182-183

In chapter IV entitled "Michigan," written by Robert J. Mowitz, described in 1951 as being "Assistant Professor of Public Administration in Wayne University" we find the following observations:

"Michigan is no newcomer to the ranks of those alarmed by subversive activities. Its statute books contain the normal safeguards against all sorts of criminal violence, whether inspired by domestic politics, international intrigue, or the more customary motivations of malefaction. Moreover, it specifically outlaws treason and misprision of treason, sedition, criminal syndicalism, the display of red flags, and the wearing of masks and disguises by those intent upon defying the state's authority. It requires its teachers and public servants to attest to their fidelity."

p. 184

In chapter VII* entitled "A General View," written by Walter Gellhorn these statements are made:

*Other chapters in this book have been previously covered in comments and quotations of authors set forth in their full length books on the same subject.

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"In all truth, as one reads the many laws that already denounce the dangerous conduct to which Communists are deemed committed, one may wonder at the continuing demand for additional legislation. If the American Communists are as intent upon lawlessness as they are said to be, there appears to be a generally adequate body of statutes to cope with their misdeeds. If, on the other hand, the domestic devotees of Stalin do not violate the existing prohibitions, one wonders whether they are really so menacing that still more laws are needed in order to save the rest of us. Of course, many legislatures are concerned about the possibility of political lawlessness in the future rather than about crimes in the immediate present. For that reason they seek ways to imprison Communists in anticipation of criminality that has not yet occurred and as a means of forestalling it. This is the essential purport of laws that address themselves solely to political identification. Statutes of this type have their appeal because it is often easier to prove that a man is a Communist than it is to prove the commission of some specific offense. There is the grave question, however, whether 'anticipatory criminality' ought to gain recognition in American law.

"Moreover, the influence of American Communists seems on the whole to be at low ebb, rather than ever mounting as the state legislatures formally declare...."

p. 362

Professor Gellhorn concludes:

"The statutes and the investigations considered in this volume were intended to strike at enemies of freedom. In many instances, however, they hit others instead--educators, public employees, political minorities, and even religious groups...."

p. 391

The House Committee on Un-American Activities
1945 - 1950

By

Robert K. Carr
Joel Parker, Professor of Law
and Political Science, Dartmouth College
Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York
Copyright, 1952

Professor Carr opens his book by stating in the "Author's Preface" his general beliefs. They include such convictions as:

"Loyalty to a national state and concern for its security have a high moral and practical value. As national states go, the United States is one of man's greatest achievements. It has brought liberty and welfare to millions of people. We should give it our high loyalty, and we should fight to maintain its security.

"We live in an age of revolution. The great issue of our times is whether the individual is to remain free and the state remain an instrument to serve him, or whether the individual is to become a mere unit in society and the state become a totalitarian manifestation of some principle of group solidarity. Against the revolutionary forces which are loose in the modern world, it is inevitable that established orders, such as our own, shall seek to defend themselves. There cannot, in the very nature of things, be any legal right of revolution.

"The great revolutionary force of modern times is totalitarianism, and its twin agents are fascism and communism. At the moment fascism lies weak and defeated. On the international scene it has no powerful home state to serve as a base for its operations. Within our own land the native fascists have been put to rout. But this is not to say that the fascist threat to our free

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society is forever dead. There is a strong, latent fascist force in America that awaits only a favorable combination of circumstances to assert its ugly power. In the long run, the internal danger of a fascist revolution in the United States may well prove to be more serious than the danger of a Communist revolution.

"At the moment communism is strong and aggressive. On the international scene it does have a powerful home state, the Soviet Union, from which to carry on its conspiratorial campaign to gain dominion over the world. The conspirators have made much headway in the last decade. No intelligent man can doubt that international communism is a revolutionary force of great strength and cleverness and that it has placed the Western way of life in mortal danger. But we must recognize that danger for what it is. To the United States the danger is in very large measure a military one. To meet this danger we must bend every effort to achieve the speedy completion of our rearmament program. We must also strive through diplomacy and generous economic support to weld together the free nations of the world in an effective alliance against the danger of Communist attack.

"In addition to this military threat there is also a danger that communism will win men's minds. That the people of Asia, Africa, and even western Europe and South America may yet be persuaded to accept communism voluntarily as the most desirable way of life in the modern world is a very real possibility. Here our best hope is to win the non-Communist nations of the world as our allies and their peoples as our friends by showing them that Western democracy is in theory and in practice superior to communism.

*Italicized in the original.

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"At home our native Communist movement is small and weak. The possibility that this movement can attract any number of Americans through the mere advocacy of its doctrines is nonexistent. No major radical political group in American history has ever been less successful in winning converts. Accordingly, the threat to the American way of life resulting from the mere advocacy of communism can safely be met by continued reliance upon the free market place of thought and expression. With respect to this point is there any reason to doubt the continuing validity today of Jefferson's words: 'If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it'?

"At the same time, it must be recognized that a small, highly disciplined group of American Communists, co-operating closely with the international Communist conspiracy, can do grave damage to this country. But the damage they can do is not the subversion of the American people; it is the damage that criminals can do--criminals who infiltrate our private social institutions and our public agencies for the purpose of committing such offenses against the law as espionage and sabotage. The way to prevent such damage is not to silence men's tongues or to undermine confidence in our private organizations or the government. The way to meet the danger is the traditional one of providing an adequate body of law defining forbidden criminal conduct and of building up an adequate police force or counterintelligence system to ferret out the lawbreakers.

"In the end, the problem that confronts the United States is to find a satisfactory balance between the demands of national security and the interests of individual freedom. Finding a satisfactory solution to this problem, while

difficult, is not an impossible task. The reconciliation of authority and liberty may be a never-ending process, but it is always possible. Indeed, the only liberty that can have real meaning to modern man is liberty in an organized society in which law and order are maintained and the security of the group is safeguarded. Liberty, then, is dependent upon authority for its very existence. Thus, efforts to safeguard national security cannot be condemned out of hand because of the danger that such efforts, if badly conceived or unwisely administered, may jeopardize civil liberties. At the same time, a free people must be ever on guard lest this rationalization be used to justify unnecessary encroachments by government upon the individual's freedom. John Fra has recently written, 'Mankind has never learned the art of suppressing by littles. The violence of the spirit of suppression too quickly reaches beyond the truly wicked to mere non-conformists.'

"Edmund Burke, the great English statesman, has supplied us with a sound working principle for the proper balancing of liberty and authority:

"Liberty, too, must be limited in order to be possessed. The degree of restraint it is impossible in any case to settle precisely. But it ought to be the constant aim of every wise public counsel to find out by cautious experiments, and rational, cool endeavors, with how little, not how much, of this restraint the community can subsist."

pp. viii - xi

"NO CONGRESSIONAL investigating committee in history has provoked more controversy or criticism than has the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives. No such committee has been more bitterly attacked or more vigorously defended. To some

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Americans it has constituted one of the gravest threats to civil liberty our nation has ever known; in less than a decade it has managed to create and impose a loyalty standard upon the nation that has dangerously narrowed our traditional freedoms of thought, expression, and association. To other Americans the committee has been our chief bulwark against subversion; almost single-handedly it has saved the nation against enslavement by the Communists."

p. 1

In his final chapter the author sums up "The Case FOR the Committee" and "The Case AGAINST the Committee."

Contained within his conclusions are these convictions:

"ON BALANCE the good things the Un-American Activities Committee has done are outweighed by the bad...."

"All things considered, it appears that the record of the Un-American Activities Committee between 1945 and 1950 (and of the predecessor Dies committee) is such that the wisest policy to follow would be the complete abolition of the committee...."

pp. 449, 459

If it is not to be abolished then says the author the next best thing is to make an effort to correct what he considers to be its substantive and procedural shortcomings.

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The Federal Loyalty-Security Program

By

Eleanor Bontocou

Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York

Copyright, 1953

In the "Author's Preface" the author quite candidly explains an important point:

"The following study is not, and could not be, an unbiased one. Its terms of reference, namely, to make 'a factual examination of the civil liberties issues which arise from acts taken to eliminate subversive individuals from government service,' were established by the grant which made it possible. This objective has determined the angle of approach and the emphasis of the study. The effect of current practices on internal security or on the quality of the civil service, important as they are, could be considered only in passing.

"Every effort has been made to treat the subject fairly, and to take into account the problems of the officials whose duty it is to screen 'subversives' from the Government, as well as those of the individuals who are subjected to screening. The validity and propriety of the Hatch Act and the appropriation riders that require the Administration to bar Communists from the Federal Service is not challenged, and it is recognized that enforcement of these laws inevitably involves some sort of screening program. The writer also recognizes the present existence of what McGeorge Bundy has called 'a grim and illiberal public mood,' which must be taken into consideration if the Administration is to have and to hold public confidence."

p. ix

In Chapter VII the author sets forth her conclusions among which are these:

"... We must admit that the Government, if it is to function, must have the confidence of the public, and public opinion must, therefore, be taken into account in setting up any screening program. Apparently, at the present time, the public mood is predominantly illiberal and must be reckoned with as such. Certainly we are now living in one of the unhappy eras when witch hunting is prevalent and hysteria is easily induced. Since the loyalty program went into effect, it has become plain that in this present state of public feeling it is not really possible to protect Government employees fully against false accusations and that appeasement will only lend more fuel to the fires that have been lighted by the witch hunters. Important minority opinion demands that government action in this field shall 'not only be right but seem right' and shall be carried on 'with moderation and good sense.' If this opinion is ignored, the Government will forfeit the confidence of a large number of citizens without gaining that of others."

"Finally, the need for a screening program does not arise from a short-time emergency. In wartime or other critical periods, there may be a voluntary surrender of basic rights which is clearly recognized as temporary and which, therefore, has little effect on our basic thinking. The need for protecting the Government service from subversive elements will probably continue for many years, but, unless present world tensions explode into actual warfare, there will be little public sense of emergency. As a result,

a whole generation can become so inured to the sacrifice of basic rights in the interest of so-called security that they may cease to place any great value upon those rights and may come to accept extraordinary procedures as the norm.

"Any fair-minded person who has watched the operation of the loyalty program from its inception must agree that so far as possible, President Truman's promises as to the manner in which it would be administered have been kept. Although the witch hunters have been able, to some extent, to impose their will upon the executive branch, loyalty and security board members have not for the most part been infected with the current virus. They have striven to avoid even the appearance of railroading an employee to his dismissal, have been cognizant of the handicaps under which he labors in any effort to defend himself, and have usually attempted to lessen those handicaps so far as the rules of the program and their own capacities permit. As a result, better standards of procedure in screening activities have gradually been developed. 'More rumor, gossip or suspicion' certainly have found their way into the investigative reports, and it is impossible to determine to what extent they may have colored the thinking of individual board members. A genuine effort has been made, however, to sift out and reject such flimsy material and to base any final adverse judgment on what the boards believe to be solid ground. The statistics of the program do prove that with all its faults the loyalty-security program has at least provided a forum in which an innocent person may promptly meet any allegations made against him, with reasonable certainty that his case will be thoroughly explored. Speaking mathematically, the chances are that in the end his record will be cleared. President Truman

strove valiantly, although not always successfully, to prevent any misuse of the records in individual cases.

"In spite of these achievements on the credit side of the ledger, a survey of the whole operation of the loyalty and security program leads one to the conclusion that Mr. Richardson was not a true prophet when he foretold that there would be no unwise interference with individual rights. Inevitably and by its very terms, the Loyalty Order itself restricts to some extent the rights of freedom of conscience and association. The manner in which the Attorney General has performed his duties in listing proscribed organizations has intensified this restrictive effect. The practice of government by fiat which the Attorney General followed in issuing his list until he was checked by the Supreme Court has violated not only the accepted standards of due process but also the basic principle of democracy, which demands that any governmental action affecting a large number of persons shall be predicated upon full and free discussion.

"Trivial allegations, rumor, and gossip may not have led to dismissals, but they have been made the basis of charges in both loyalty and security cases. Employees are thus penalized when they are really innocent and before they have had an opportunity to explain or refute an adverse but false report. Trivial allegations may lead to the reopening of a case, so that no one can rest secure simply because the record has once been cleared. Boards have interpreted the material in the files in a manner which, to say the least, is open to question. These practices, with clumsy techniques of questioning, have appeared to place a premium upon orthodoxy and conformity, while they are of dubious value in the discovery of the truth about an employee.

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"Bare allegations, vaguely phrased but serious in import, have at times been accepted at face value by boards when reported to have been made by confidential informants whose identity is unknown to the board members as well as to the employee. Too often employees have not been given the dates, places, or other data necessary to enable them to make an adequate defense, and the cloak of anonymity has been extended to the ordinary citizen who makes damaging allegations as well as to the undercover agent. The unequal performance of the various loyalty boards has made it clear that in many cases the customary safeguards of due process have been abandoned quite unnecessarily. Officials have made a bad matter worse by justifying unwise practices on the ground that the four million persons who have been checked under the loyalty program have, as Government employees, no rights to be violated. As a result of these defects, judgments which may in fact be just have been made to seem unjust.

"These faults of the program are due in part to the terms of the Loyalty Order and the summary dismissal statutes, in part simply to unwise or clumsy administration--which at points has involved a departure from the terms of the order--and in part to the 'curse of bigness.'"

"When drawing up the loyalty program, the President's Commission took the position that it was concerned solely with what it described as the 'defensive aspect of counter-intelligence' and that its specific purpose was to protect the national safety by preventing spies and saboteurs from gaining a foothold in the Government service. The particular threat which the Commission sought to counter came from Russia and the Communists

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who are ready to do her bidding. This meant that the danger was rooted in part in a political philosophy and that inevitably the means adopted to meet it must, to some extent, run counter to our traditional liberties of freedom of speech and conscience. In such a situation it would seem to be the part of wisdom to frame the program in terms tailored as precisely as possible to meet the specific need, leaving it to the Executive to broaden the scope as occasion demanded. Instead, the order is written in terms of 'loyalty' and that word is defined only by the enumeration of six specific tests which, for the most part, seem to describe the evils that the program is intended to avert, rather than to clarify the meaning of the standard. The instruction to the Attorney General to list not only organizations which he finds to be Communist or subversive but also those which he classifies as 'totalitarian,' 'fascist,' or 'as seeking to deprive persons of their constitutional rights by force and violence,' further confuses the issue and shifts the emphasis from an area of actual danger to one which is more closely related to that of general fitness. The result is that the original purpose of the order is easily forgotten. Already the present chairman has adopted a position which was specifically rejected by the President's Commission. He has interpreted the term 'disloyal' to include those who put personal interest above country and has defined the loyal person as one who will do 'more than is required for his country.' Many of the abuses of the program seem to be the result of this confusion as to its purpose."

"The effect of the provision of the Loyalty Order which requires or permits the Attorney General to proscrib[e] organizations has been to restrict freedom of association in areas entirely unrelated to Government employment,

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At the same time, this provision has stigmatized any and all persons who may at any time have belonged to one of the groups named, but has been of dubious value for the discovery of Communists in the Federal service...."

"The harm that has already been done by the fiat listing cannot be undone, but it need not be multiplied. Most of the organizations on the Attorney General's list have long since been dissolved, so that soon these groups will have no significance in the screening of employees. If in the future the Attorney General would refrain from characterizing groups as such but instead give out information as to the extent and character of Communist activities within them, less harm would probably be done to innocent members. No one would have to be fearful of joining legitimate organizations. At the same time a device would be created for counter-propaganda against Communist fronts."

"... Liberty has not been destroyed because of the loyalty and security programs, and it has been the firm intention of the President and his advisers that it shall not be. However, if many people consciously or unconsciously adopt those positions, the 'first' thing, genuine faith in democratic institutions, will have gone and soon the 'second' might follow. Rights and liberties can be destroyed by attrition perhaps more surely than by direct assault. We must not forget that it is from our traditional democratic rights that our citizens derive the power, fundamental in a free society, to meet their own responsibility for the effective functioning of their Government. If the tensions of the time demand some temporary sacrifice of basic freedoms, let us never forget that their maintenance is as necessary to national security in a free democratic society as is the protection of our physical safety; let us never accept the sacrifice with complacency."

"Faceless Informers and Our Schools" by Lawrence Martin,
associate editor of The Denver Post

This material was issued by The Denver Post in 1954 and bears as a subtitle: "The Denver Post reports on A Crucial National Issue." The author, Lawrence Martin, has been associate editor of The Denver Post since 1947. This material first appeared in a series of articles in The Denver Post and later was issued in booklet form. The author takes a position in opposition to what he calls "faceless informers."

Mr. Martin writes:

"GUILT by association, on the basis of anonymous information, without benefit of due process, confrontation by an accuser or supported evidence, is driving scores of American school teachers from their jobs, bearing the stigma of loyalty risks or actual subversives."

The Denver Post,
September 19, 1954

"DURING the last three years, anonymous, un-evaluated and unsupported information has put at least 1,000 teachers in public schools and colleges on 'suspect lists' as disloyal or subversive."

The Denver Post,
September 20, 1954

Mr. Martin refers to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in his articles and attributes to this Bureau a course of action it never pursued and also attributes to its Agents statements which they never made.

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Freedom Award Speeches

This is a pamphlet distributed by The Fund for the Republic.

The Freedom House, New York, was established in 1941 to advance the ideals of a free society. Among its founders were Wendell L. Willkie, Herbert Bayard Swope, Herbert Agar and George Field. The president is Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College, New York. (The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1955, p. 246)

Each year since 1943 Awards have been made for distinguished 100-92221-9)
services to the cause of freedom. Those receiving the Awards have been:

- 1943 - Walter Lippmann (The New York Times, September 29, 1943, p. 16)
- 1944 - Sumner Welles (The New York Times, September 25, 1944, p. 15)
- 1945 - Dwight D. Eisenhower (The New York Times, April 3, 1946, p. 52)
- 1946 - Bernard M. Baruch (The New York Times, October 9, 1946, p. 1)
- 1947 - George C. Marshall (Facts on File, Vol. VII, No. 353, p. 244)
- 1948 - Arthur H. Vandenberg (Facts on File, Vol. VIII, No. 401, p. 224)
- 1949 - Lucius D. Clay and David E. Lilienthal (Facts on File, Vol. IX, No. 455, p. 239)
- 1950 - Dean G. Acheson (Facts on File, Vol. X, No. 507, p. 231)
- ✓ 1951 - Paul G. Hoffman and Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, editor and publisher of La Prensa, Buenos Aires, Argentina (Facts on File, Vol. XI, No. 571, p. 325)
- 1952 - General Matthew B. Ridgway and Dr. James B. Conant (Facts on File, Vol. XII, No. 612, p. 235)

1953 - In 1953, instead of going to an individual, the Award was made to United Nations soldiers who fought in Korea.
(Facts on File, Vol. XIII, No. 682, p. 390)

1954 - Edward R. Murrow (The New York Times, October 4, 1954, p. 22)

These speeches relate to the theme underlying the Award--

freedom.

Government by Investigation By Alan Earth
Editorial Writer on The Washington Post
The Viking Press, New York
Copyright, 1955

The author points out his concern in the opening chapter

saying:

"The separated powers of the United States government are now gravely out of balance. It is the purpose of this book to show that the legislative branch has acquired a dominance which is becoming a peril to liberty. The imbalance has been brought about in large measure through an old and necessary instrument of legislative action which lately has got altogether out of hand--the congressional investigating committee. Congress has, increasingly during the past decade, ominously during the past five years, used its indispensable investigating power in ways that encroach upon the jurisdiction of the executive branch of the government; it has used this power in ways that usurp and corrupt the special functions of the judicial branch; and, most dangerous of all, it has used this power in ways that extend the authority of the government into vital areas of American life traditionally reserved for private--that is to say, non-governmental--control."

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"This book will attempt, first, an examination of legislative trespassing upon executive authority; second, of legislative intrusion upon the independence of the judiciary; third, of legislative invasion of those rights and powers reserved, under the Ninth and Tenth articles of the Bill of Rights, to the people of the United States."

pp. 4, 5, 11

The entire book is devoted to questions outlined by the author above who concludes that the Congressional power to investigate has in the recent past been abused and needs to be restricted in behalf of individual rights and freedoms as well as in behalf of the independence of foundations, funds, churches, universities, the press and related groups.

Grand Inquest By Telford Taylor
(lawyer, author)
Simon and Schuster, New York
Copyright, 1955

In his "Foreword" Mr. Taylor says:

"As the chosen instrument of a new and potent combination of domestic political forces, Congressional investigations are an immediate and major cause of the internal crisis of confidence in which the United States is presently gripped. The purpose of this book is to describe the origin and growth of the investigations, to explore their purposes and powers, and to trace the process by which they have now arrived at the center of the political stage, where they are playing so controversial a role."

p. xi

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Mr. Taylor continues on to say:

"But with the increasing participation of investigating committees in matters of loyalty and subversion, their activities have raised new and much more searching issues. The problem is no longer merely one of partisan distortions and procedural crudities--of regrettable excrescences on a basically sound political organism. The question is whether this relatively new instrumentality, the Congressional loyalty investigation, has not been captured lock, stock, and barrel for exploitation, not for the benefit of Congress as a representative body, but under the domination of a particular conglomeration of political forces and interests.

"To apprehend this danger it is necessary only to scan the names of those who have been most prominently identified with these investigations. Martin Dies, Jack Tenney, J. Parnell Thomas, Patrick McCarran, Eugene Cox, William Jenner, Joseph R. McCarthy, Harold Velde, Carroll Reece--whatever one's personal estimate of these men, one thing is clear; they are not a representative group of American legislators. They are clustered at the extreme right end of the political color spectrum, where purple deepens into black. Largely for this reason, the Congressional loyalty investigations have been like a baseball game in which only one team ever comes to bat."

"The traditional investigations of government agencies, or inquiries into particular subjects of legislation, were generally confined to official Washington and to a few spectacular and powerful locales such as the Wall Street financial community. They sometimes made headlines, but touched the average citizen chiefly through the press

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and radio, and rarely in his own community, much less in his neighborhood or his home. The witnesses summoned before the committees were generally government officials, financiers, corporation officials, labor leaders, and economic experts--prominent and powerful or intellectually sophisticated individuals whose problems and opinions seemed remote from the life of plain people.

"Today the net of the loyalty investigations is far more widely cast. Since 1946 three permanent Congressional committees or subcommittees--the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and the Senate Permanent Investigating Subcommittee--have been busily exploring and exposing the political activities, associations, and attitudes of American citizens. They have penetrated the most diverse surroundings and occupations, among others the Hollywood motion picture industry, philanthropic foundations, public and private education at all levels, and industrial labor, with side glances into journalism, publishing, radio-television, and the clergy.

"Thus the teacher and the workman are now under Congressional scrutiny, and the end is not yet in sight. Eleven residents of the District of Columbia recently summoned before the House Un-American Activities Committee included a doctor, an optometrist, a commercial artist, a magazine writer, an electrician, an automobile mechanic, a piano tuner, a public relations consultant, a commercial photographer and two housewives. This is a measure of how deeply the investigations are biting into the everyday life of the average citizen. Even if his own loyalty is not in question, the lightning may strike the teacher at his daughter's school, or the man working beside him at the shop."

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"... Often the loyalty hearings are nothing other than a method, outside the law, of inflicting punishment on individuals. Of course, incidental injury to persons or institutions in the course of searching legislative inquiries is sometimes unavoidable. But committee proceedings that have no purpose or effect other than to expose individuals to public contumely, and to the loss of their jobs and perhaps of their livelihoods, are a new and dangerous political device, never authorized by law or contemplated during the evolution of legislative investigations.

"The phenomenon of extra-legal condemnation on suspicion of political unreliability has spread from the investigations into many other areas. A wide assortment of 'Fifth Amendment Communists,' 'left wingers,' and others face the prospect of dismissal from their positions, disbarment, revocation of licenses as physicians, dentists, or veterinarians, denial of passports, income-tax exemptions, access to public housing, and civic if not social ostracism...."

"In short, we are approaching a condition in which political orthodoxy is scrutinized by roving inquisitions, which punish heresy by a sort of outlawry. This is a strange vocabulary for twentieth-century democracy; inquisition and outlawry are medieval concepts, long since discarded in modern law and morals, and thoroughly repugnant to our Constitutional system. Their revival is an eloquent measure of the depth and bitterness of America's crisis of confidence. In a very real sense, we are living in a state of cold civil war.

"The elements of this conflict are diverse and tangled. In general and certainly inadequate terms, it may be described as a nationalist, 'native-American' challenge to the middle-class liberalism and internationalism which have been the prevailing (though often-disturbed) political climate of the United States, Britain, and the democracies of Western Europe.

"The fears and forces of which this challenge is compounded long antedate the Communist menace....

"While these amorphous and overlapping attitudes have been sharpening into an American nationalist alignment, Communism has sprung from its tiny dialectical seed and emerged as an enormous and dynamic world force. A mere handful of revolutionaries at the outbreak of the First World War, less than forty years later Communism dominates the heartland of Eurasia and is the way of life for some 600 million people.

"An accident of the European parliamentary vocabulary is originally responsible for the notion, sedulously fostered by the nationalists, that the politics of liberalism and social democracy are closely akin to Communism. In the multi-party European legislatures, unlike both Parliament and Congress, the parties are ranged in a political spectrum from right to left, with the Social Democrats next to the Communists on the extreme left. This is why 'leftist' politics have fallen in the popular mind, quite undeservedly, into the pink shadow of Communism--a preconception which quite overlooks the fact that the Communists are usually found making common cause with the extremists of the right, and that the physical proximity of the Socialists and Communists does nothing to alleviate the implacable enmity between them. Indeed, the Communist Weltanschauung* and conception of the individual's relation to the State have much more in common with the nationalism of the radical right than with the liberal internationalism of the left.

"Accordingly, it is quite wrong to suppose that Communism is an issue in America's cold civil war, in the sense that either side is favorably disposed toward it. But Communism is, of course, a factor of enormous importance in this

*Italicized in the original.

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domestic struggle. The Communist menace takes quite different shapes, depending upon the lenses through which it is viewed. Counter measures advocated by some may and, indeed, do seem suicidal to others. Furthermore-- and this is what has made our internal conflict so venomously lethal that it deserves to be called the cold civil war--the nationalist alignment has succeeded, beyond all prior imagining, in saddling the democratic-liberal groups with the onus of Communist advances whether in China or Czechoslovakia, in labeling their leaders with derogatory epithets such as 'left-winger,' 'soft-headed liberal,' 'anti-anti-Communist,' and 'egghead,' and in portraying Eisenhower Republicans and Fair Deal Democrats alike as 'soft' toward Communism.

"Congressional investigations have been the principal instrumentality in accomplishing these results...."

pp. xi - xvi

Mr. Taylor's closing thoughts are essentially the same as his opening thoughts:

"...Today we must face the realities of investigative practices and purposes. The loyalty committees have become a sort of irregular and irresponsible security police force, operating on a mounting scale which is rapidly approaching an overt and acknowledged inquisition. They exert the power of office and the pressure of publicity to inflict severe punishment, outside the due and regular processes of criminal law, and increasingly resemble the special peoples' courts established by the Nazis to execute the 'healthy feeling of the people,' and in Communist countries to enforce Party standards of individual behavior and attitude...."

"Congressional investigations can and should be a powerful shield to our free institutions, and it is the task of everyone--judges, legislators, government officials and all foresighted citizens--to join in restoring them to the beneficial fulfillment of this task, under the leadership of able, moderate and responsible members of the House and the Senate. Such leadership has never been so needed as it is today, and its reassertion would be the best way to resolve and dissolve the problems which have given rise to this book."

pp. 280, 283

"Open Occupancy" an article in the magazine
House and Home, April, 1955, p. 148

This article is concerned with the question of peacefully, justly and intelligently settling racial difficulties as they relate to housing.

"See It Now" By Edward R. Murrow
Murrow-Oppenheimer Television Interview
4th Edition, Show No. 18
The "See It Now" program is "edited and produced by the partnership of Murrow and Friendly, presented by the Aluminum Company of America."

The conversation between Mr. Murrow and Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, director of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, included the following:

Murrow "Dr. Oppenheimer, are you worried about - the - all the impediments placed in the way of free intercourse, travel and exchange among scientists? I think..."

Oppenheimer "Very much."

Murrow "I've been coming down here, and I think this is true-- that had the McCarran Act been enforced, neither Fermi nor Szilard would ever have been permitted to enter the country which would have been a rather expensive loss, I think."

Oppenheimer "Perhaps not even Einstein, I don't know. This is terrible. This is just terrible, and seems a wholly fantastic and grotesque way to - to meet the threat of espionage --just an enormous apparatus, surely not well designed, for that, and terrible - for, for those of us who live with it. We are rightly ashamed by the contempt that the Europeans have for us, and we are rightly embarrassed that we can't hold congresses in this country--that we can't - often don't let people go to congresses who are the most wanted. Year after year, we've met in Rochester to discuss the kind of basic physics that... There is one man who's the world's greatest in this, and very, very good. Oh, well, he sends his deputies and his representatives, but he doesn't come, and that's not one situation. It's over and over again. This is a scandal."

pp. 7-8

"See It Now" By Edward R. Murrow
A Television Show on Book Censorship in California

This program criticizes the censorship of books in California.

Strong in Their Pride and Free By Former Senator Harry P. Cain, member of the Subversive Activities Control Board,
Published by American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York
Copyright, June, 1955

In this speech, among other things, Mr. Cain defends the use of the Fifth Amendment by Communists or others who do not wish to testify against their own interests. He also comments on security boards, informants and the organizations "on the Attorney General's current subversive list."

The Fifth Amendment Today

By Erwin N. Griswold
Dean and Langdell Professor of Law
Harvard Law School
Harvard University Press
Cambridge
Copyright, 1955

This book consists of three speeches given by Dean Griswold. Some of Dean Griswold's more pertinent thoughts are expressed in these paragraphs:

"... The privilege against self-incrimination embodied in the Fifth Amendment has been a long time with us. It is, I believe, a good friend as well as an old friend. It embodies a sound value which we should preserve. As we increase our understanding of it, and the part it has long played in protecting the individual against the collective power of the state, we will have better appreciation of some of the basic problems of our time."

p. 30

"In protecting ourselves from the threat of communism, we should not adopt methods of oppression here which the communists themselves would use...."

p. 51

"... Let us never forget the great tradition of individual liberty in this country. There are few clearer symbols of this tradition than the Fifth Amendment."

p. 82

"The Kept Witnesses" By Richard H. Rovere
(contributing editor to Harper's since 1949)
Harper's Magazine
May, 1955, p. 25

This article by Mr. Rovere is highly critical of witnesses who have testified in cases involving Communism or charges of Communism. The author does not criticize, in fact, does not comment upon witnesses who have testified against members of the extreme "right-wing" or "native fascist" groups.

Mr. Rovere on commencing his article says:

"At least eighty-three people have been set up by the government in the trade of 'professional witnesses.' One calls it 'a racket'... three are confessed liars... and all of them are exempt from security clearance."

p. 25

When Mr. Rovere infers that men and women who furnish the Federal Bureau of Investigation information are exempt from security clearance, he is absolutely in error. No clearance of any kind is given to them. The truth is they are very carefully investigated before the regular acceptance of information is effected. Where there are any indications that a source of information is unreliable or has serious character defects, his services and information are unacceptable to this Bureau.

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Mr. Rovee refers to a "William Garfield Cummings as an FBI agent." His error here is as pronounced as his errors elsewhere in the article. Mr. Cummings was never an Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

p. 32

"The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt" By Richard Hofstadter
Professor of History at Columbia University
"The American Scholar"
Winter, 1954-1955, p. 9

Professor Hofstadter believes that twenty years ago the dynamic force in political life in the United States came from liberal dissent. Today he believes it is "a dynamic of dissent" coming from pseudo-conservatives.

"... Representing no more than a modest fraction of the electorate, it is not so powerful as the liberal dissent of the New Deal era, but it is powerful enough to set the tone of our political life and to establish throughout the country a kind of punitive reaction. The new dissent is certainly not radical--there are hardly any radicals of any sort left--nor is it precisely conservative. Unlike most of the liberal dissent of the past, the new dissent not only has no respect for nonconformism, but is based upon a relentless demand for conformity. It can most accurately be called pseudo-conservative..."

"Who is the pseudo-conservative, and what does he want? It is impossible to identify him by class, for the pseudo-conservative impulse can be found in practically all classes

in society, although its power probably rests largely upon its appeal to the less educated members of the middle classes. The ideology of pseudo-conservatism can be characterized but not defined, because the pseudo-conservative tends to be more than ordinarily incoherent about politics. The lady who, when General Eisenhower's victory over Senator Taft had finally become official, stalked out of the Hilton Hotel declaiming, 'This means eight more years of socialism' was probably a fairly good representative of the pseudo-conservative mentality. So also were the gentlemen who, at the Freedom Congress held at Omaha over a year ago by some 'patriotic' organizations, objected to Earl Warren's appointment to the Supreme Court with the assertion: 'Middle-of-the-road thinking can and will destroy us'; the general who spoke to the same group, demanding 'an Air Force capable of wiping out the Russian Air Force and industry in one sweep,' but also 'a material reduction in military expenditures'; the people who a few years ago believed simultaneously that we had no business to be fighting communism in Korea, but that the war should immediately be extended to an Asia-wide crusade against communism; and the most ardent supporters of the Bricker Amendment. Many of the most zealous followers of Senator McCarthy are also pseudo-conservatives, although there are presumably a great many others who are not.

"The restlessness, suspicion and fear manifested in various phases of the pseudo-conservative revolt give evidence of the real suffering which the pseudo-conservative experiences in his capacity as a citizen. He believes himself to be living in a world in which he is spied upon, plotted against, betrayed, and very likely destined for total ruin. He feels that his liberties have been arbitrarily and outrageously invaded. He is opposed to almost everything that has happened in American politics for the past twenty years. He hates the very thought of

Franklin D. Roosevelt. He is disturbed deeply by American participation in the United Nations, which he can see only as a sinister organization. He sees his own country as being so weak that it is constantly about to fall victim to subversion; and yet he feels that it is so all-powerful that any failure it may experience in getting its way in the world--for instance, in the Orient--cannot possibly be due to its limitations but must be attributed to its having been betrayed. He is the most bitter of all our citizens about our involvement in the wars of the past, but seems the least concerned about avoiding the next one. While he naturally does not like Soviet communism, what distinguishes him from the rest of us who also dislike it is that he shows little interest in, is often indeed bitterly hostile to such realistic measures as might actually strengthen the United States vis-a-vis Russia. He would much rather concern himself with the domestic scene, where communism is weak, than with those areas of the world where it is really strong and threatening. He wants to have nothing to do with the democratic nations of Western Europe, which seem to draw more of his ire than the Soviet Communists, and he is opposed to all 'give-away programs' designed to aid and strengthen these nations. Indeed, he is likely to be antagonistic to most of the operations of our federal government except Congressional investigations, and to almost all of its expenditures...."

pp. 10-12

In answer to the query whence came this pseudo-conservatism,

Professor Hofstadter is prepared to reply:

"...The readiest answer is that the new pseudo-conservatism is simply the old ultra-conservatism and the old isolationism heightened by the extraordinary pressures of the contemporary world...."

p. 14

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Needless to say, Professor Hofstadter does not approve of "pseudo-conservatism." He believes, however, it has passed its peak and is on the wane.

Although Professor Hofstadter believes that the wave of pseudo-conservatism is receding, he is still uneasy and somewhat fearful and concludes his mental vein.

"... However, in a populist culture like ours, which seems to lack a responsible elite with political and moral autonomy, and in which it is possible to exploit the wildest currents of public sentiment for private purposes, it is at least conceivable that a highly organized, vocal, active and well-financed minority could create a political climate in which the rational pursuit of our well-being and safety would become impossible."

p. 27

"To Uncure the End of Our Hysteria" By Paul G. Hoffman
Chairman, Board of Directors
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
The New York Times Magazine
November 14, 1954, Section C

Mr. Hoffman is of the opinion that a serious degree of fear has been engendered in the minds of American citizens as a result of methods taken to combat Communism. He believes, however, it is lessening. Mr. Hoffman writes:

"The complex of fear that has spread over America during the past eight years, and particularly the past four, bringing to this great nation a period of near-panic of a kind it never knew before, has begun to abate in the past six months. Reports of injustices by self-appointed groups are diminishing. Congress is taking steps to provide a code of just and responsible conduct for its investigating committees. Confidence is returning. Academic people are coming out of their foxholes. Young people are beginning to assert themselves again as young people should.

"But we are far indeed from the happy end of this hysteria. What we have is a lull--a break in the clouds--which could only too easily prove to be temporary...."

p. 9

It is of some interest to note that Mr. Hoffman's opinion appears to be invalidated through the findings set forth in Samuel A. Stouffer's book: Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties; subtitled "A Cross-section of the Nation Speaks Its Mind," financed by The Fund for the Republic. This book analyzed American public opinion in the Summer of 1954 and Mr. Hoffman's article was issued in the Fall of 1954. This book contains such conclusions as:

"For the purposes of the present study, the most significant finding is the absence* of striking evidence of deep personal concern among the majority about either the Communist threat or the threat to civil liberties...."

*Italicized in the original.

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"... only 5% of the community leaders and only 2% of the national cross-section say, even on a check-list question, that they are personally 'much' bothered about infringement of their right to speak their minds? It is a finding consistent with evidence offered earlier in this chapter that the vast majority do not experience a serious assault on their civil liberties...."

"... a picture of the average American as a person with the jitters, trembling lest he find a Red under the bed, is clearly nonsense.... Moreover, very few have experienced any personal threat to their freedom of speech or are really worried about the threat to civil liberties in general...."

Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties by Samuel A. Stouffer,
Doubleday & Company, Inc.,
Garden City, New York,
Copyright, 1955, pp. 74-75, 82, 87

It seems that Mr. Hoffman believes that the natural basis for some of the hysteria relates to espionage conducted in the United States by representatives and sympathizers of Soviet Russia. He says:

"Despite all our precautions and our barbed wire, the Russians were able to get our secrets...."

The New York Times Magazine,
November 14, 1954, Section 6, p. 62

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He thinks that this contributed to a situation resulting in a retreat from fundamental principles and sound security conduct:

"Probably our retreat reached its most perilous state--with our division most severe and our freedoms most in jeopardy--around the end of 1953 and the turn into 1954. Not the least of the reasons was the fact that a few notable members of Congress had achieved the peak of their abilities to create at will horrendous daily headlines. And with that came the willingness of so many frightened people to accept the notion that anyone who dared to question the methods being employed must be Communists or at least dangerous sympathizers.

"Actually, at the time, the F. B. I. and other Government agencies were moving rapidly toward their highest level of alertness and efficiency in coping with the real internal Communist operation. But their work, to be effective, had to be quiet, and the spotlight stayed on the chest beaters who could offer the noisiest reassurances."

The New York Times Magazine,
November 14, 1954, Section 6, pp. 64, 66

In view of Mr. Hoffman's reference to the possible influence of the Congressional committees investigating Communism, it is of some interest to refer once again to the book financed by The Fund for the Republic, Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties by Samuel Stouffer.

"At another point in the interview, the following question was presented: There is a good deal of discussion these * days about Congressional committees investigating Communism. Do you happen to know the names of any of the Senators or Congressmen who have been taking a

*Underlined portion in heavy print in the original.

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leading part in these investigations of Communism?
Who are they?

"The findings on this question may seem incredible to one not familiar with the political apathy of a major fraction of the American public. But it is a fact that 30%, nearly one third of the total cross-section sample, could not come up with a single correct name--not even the name of Senator McCarthy! Among our 'more interested,' 16% failed to produce a correct name; but among our 'less interested,' a total of 50% failed."

Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties by Samuel A. Stouffer, p. 85

It would seem that the findings of this survey leave open to doubt the extent of influence which the Congressional committees do have on public opinion as well as the extent of the alleged "fear" and "hysteria" which the public is said to have suffered and is suffering from as a result of loyalty and security measures and investigations directed against Communists in the United States.

'To Make Our Security System Secure'

By Vannevar Bush
scientist, president of Carnegie
Institution
The New York Times Magazine
March 20, 1955, Section 6

In his article President Bush expresses, among other thoughts, the following representative views:

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Q. D

"After a spell of fever the country has now returned to an almost normal temperature as it regards the problem of loyalty on the part of its citizens in high or sensitive places...."

p. 9

On referring to science and scientists President Bush

says:

"Much of the recent witch-hunt... seemed to be concentrated on their profession...."

p. 38

"...For widely different reasons the feeling prevails that the system of loyalty clearance under which we have operated has been defective. We need a new system, not a bit of tampering with the old; we need a 1955 model, not an anti-rattling device to be attached to a Model T.

"The new system should be built from the ground up by a competent body of men with an unrestricted assignment. That body should include members who are vigorously alive to the dangers of subversion and others who are equally alive to the rights of citizens...."

"Our enemy relies chiefly on the weapons of penetration and subversion to weaken us so that later he can destroy us. He tries to steal our secrets, to penetrate our organizations and influence our actions, and, above all, to spread confusion and mutual distrust among us...."

p. 9

It is President Bush's belief that:

"...Our security system needs to have two objectives, one to get rid of our enemies and their adherents, and the other to encourage, support and protect honest, loyal citizens as they work on matters that are important for our safety and our prosperity."

"What, then, should be our objectives as we construct and operate a system for examining into the loyalty of Government servants and those who serve voluntarily on boards or committees?

"In the first place, we want to throw the Communists out. If there is a man, of any rank in the Government, who is taking orders from the Kremlin, we want to get rid of him promptly. If there is a teacher who is imparting to the young principles which are not his own but are dictated to him by the machinery of the Communist Party, we want to see to it that he stops teaching."

p. 38

writes:
In criticizing the present security program President Bush

"The most serious aspect of our system to date has been that it has been used for spite and for thought control...."

p. 44

"All that I have said has to do with the security system employed in the Executive branch of government. What committees of Congress do is up to Congress and, in the last analysis, up to the public opinion which obtains (it)...."

p. 47

Who "Collaborated" with Russia? By Paul Willen

The reprint of this article from the Fall, 1954, issue of The Antioch Review states "Paul Willen has written for Commentary, The Reporter, The New Republic, and for the State Department's Problems of Communism, mostly on the subject of the Soviet Union. He is a graduate of the Russian Institute at Columbia University."

Mr. Willen attempts to show in his article that an almost universal pro-Russian sentiment prevailed in the United States during World War II, therefore he indicates that no one person or group should be singled out and criticized for being pro-Russian or responsible for others being pro-Russian. Mr. Willen writes:

"My purpose is to show that wartime pro-Soviet feeling was far more widespread, had much deeper roots, received encouragement from much more respectable quarters, than it is discreet to remember now in the year 1954. Once the American people realize that the 'softness' allegedly responsible for the fall of China was not confined to the White House and not the result of a conspiracy, they may begin to look for the real and deep-rooted causes of the tragic absorption of China into the Communist Empire."

Pp. 230, 261

"Recalling these facts in 1954, ten years later, may startle some Americans, especially those who have, to one degree or another, accepted the now-popular theory that the postwar expansion of Communism in Europe and Asia was largely the result of White House capitulation to Communist advisors. This theory, which portrays the American people as innocent victims of a vast international conspiracy, is one of the basic ingredients of the trend in American politics

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which we now label McCarthyism. Indeed, the basic justification for whatever suspension of civil liberties has occurred in the past five years is the assumption that China would not have fallen to the Communists had Hiss, Lattimore and Harry Dexter White been removed from the government many years ago.

"McCarthy's accusation of 'twenty years of treason' is the most crude and exaggerated expression of this viewpoint. More sophisticated observers, unwilling to accuse Roosevelt and Truman of outright and conscious betrayal, attribute the loss of China to the 'softness' of the New Deal toward Communism as the result of which Hiss and Lattimore assumed positions of such great influence."

p. 260

"There can be no doubt on this score: the overwhelming majority of the American people were favorably disposed toward the Soviet Union at the end of the war. It is clear too that this sentiment was not the product of conspiratorial left-wing manipulations. . . ."

"The wartime illusions affected all segments of the population. But the only group which continued to act upon these illusions after the war was that portion of the labor movement and radical intelligentsia which the Communist Party could organize into the Wallace movement. . . ."

pp. 281-282

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MISCELLANEOUS

The Drafts and Internal Security"A study of the Army Military Personnel Security Program" by Rowland Watts

The "Prefatory Note" of this study reads as follows:

"This is a study of the effect on draftees under the Universal Military Training and Service Act, as amended, of the Army Personnel Security Program. It is specifically concerned with SR 600-220-1, and related regulations. It examines the legal basis for this program, the administrative application of it and some of its practical outcomes. While its analysis and conclusions are implicitly suggestive of changes in the program, it is not an attempt to devise a security program which may be conformable to civil rights.

"The study was undertaken by the writer as an outgrowth of his experience in the private practice of law at Baltimore, Maryland, and as National Secretary of the WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE. He has been assisted in it by several score attorneys throughout the country who have made their files, experience and time available to him. Completion of the study has been greatly facilitated by a grant-in-aid from the FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC. This assistance is gratefully acknowledged."

p. 2

In his "Conclusion" the author says:

"At the beginning of this study there were laid down certain rights to which every young man subject to the Universal Military Training and Service Act is entitled (p. 11). To the writer these rights seemed self-evident and unchallengeable.

"Yet the Army has challenged in regulation and practice every one of those over which it has any control. They are:

"a. The right of a man not to be drafted if the Army knows it will not permit him to serve on the same basis as any other draftee.

"b. The right, if drafted, to serve on the same basis as any other draftee within the limits of his capabilities.

"c. The right to a separation and discharge based upon the character of the service rendered while in the Armed forces."

p. 93

Case Studies in Personnel Security collected under the direction of

Adam Yarmolinsky

August, 1955

Published by The Bureau of National Affairs,
Inc., Washington, D. C.

Copyright, 1955

In the "Introduction" Adam Yarmolinsky, a Washington, D. C.,

attorney, writes:

"The 50 cases presented here have been collected in the course of a study of several hundred cases arising under the various Federal personnel security programs. The study is still in progress.

"These histories are collected, with the consent of the employees involved, from the files of the lawyers who advised or represented them. The reports are of necessity incomplete, because the Government file, which was not released to the employee, was also not available to our interviewers. While we realize that

the usefulness of a study of this kind is circumscribed by the limitations on the available material, we feel that it will provide useful and indeed essential material for an understanding of how the security programs operate from day to day....

"The 50 cases in this collection are taken from a current total of 230 cases from 12 cities....

"...It is expected that in all some 250-300 cases will be obtained. Thereafter a summary report will be prepared....

"The Fund For The Republic, Inc., which has made this study possible, has also made a special grant to The Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund to establish a Committee on the Federal loyalty-security programs. The Committee has been asked to look into all aspects of the programs and to make recommendations for changes, if such changes, in its judgment, are needed. The case histories gathered here will be available to the Committee, together with information from other sources, in connection with its study...."

p. iii

As Mr. Yarmolinsky points out the material in this study is incomplete. This is a very serious defect. It results in presenting only one side of each case. The Government's side is not presented. Therefore, the studies as presented cannot help but be biased and misleading.

(121-43649-91; 62-101860)

Report on the Security Problem by a Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate (erroneously labelled by the Fund as it actually was a "statement by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey inserted into the (Congressional) Record by him in support of Senate Joint Resolution 21 to establish a Commission on Government Security.")

The "Conclusion" of the alleged "Report" included the following:

"...In response to the very real peril to our national security stemming from the nature of the Communist conspiracy, which stands ready to take advantage of the slightest weakness in our security armor, we have acted almost unconsciously, and certainly without considered judgment, in trying to reinforce and strengthen this armor. We have constructed a security mechanism almost at random without regard to duplication and overlapping, without regard to dollar cost, without any effort really to appraise the nature of the peril and the appropriate defence against it, and without any real effort to achieve a logical, consistent pattern of effective security...."

"...While there is no indication that our present security mechanism has gotten out of control, there is also no indication that it is under effective and rational control."

"There is much work to be done before the security problem can be brought under rational control...."

PART II

Part II presents pertinent information from the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation relating to persons directly and indirectly connected with The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

IDENTIFICATION OF INDIVIDUALS WITH THE ACTIVITIES OF
ORGANIZATIONS DESIGNATED BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
OR CITED BY CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES

American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union

Peter Grimm

Endorser, fund campaign, 1944.
(Pamphlet; 61-6211-416)

Sponsor, dinner dedicated to
"American-Soviet Post-War
Relations," October 19, 1944.
(61-7582-1298 p. 1097)

Whitney N. Seymour

Director, 1936.

(61-6211-176 p. 9)

American Youth Congress

Joseph P. Lyford

Participated in "Peace Pilgrimage"
to Washington, D. C.,
February 7-9, 1941. (Boston "Globe"
1/15/41, 123-8080-16 p. 6)

George N. Shuster

Member, National Advisory Board,
1937. (Pamphlet & ltrhd 1937; 61-7582-
1298 pp. 535, 537)

Signer, Call to 5th National Congress
of Youth, July 1-5, 1939.
(61-7582-1298 p. 550)

California Labor School, Inc.

James D. Zellerbach

Contributor, through Crown Zeller-
bach Corporation, July 1944 until
August 1945, when learned of
Communist nature of school.

(124-524)

**ORGANIZATIONS DESIGNATED BY THE ATTORNEY
GENERAL PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER 10450**

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

Gordon W. Allport

**Sponsor, 1941. (ltrhd 9/11/41 HCUA
files 100-73597-8)**

**Sponsor, 5th National Conference,
March 29-30, 1941. (Program
61-7582-1298 p. 353)**

**Sponsor, National "Americans All"
Week, October 21-28, 1941.**

(Flyer 61-7582-1298 p. 350)

**Sponsor, 6th National Conference,
May 9-10, 1942. (Program 100-7046-138)**

Helen M. Lynd

**Signer, open letter urging demo-
cratic rights for foreign born, 1941.**

(Press release; 100-357382-2)

**Sponsor, 5th National Conference,
March 29-30, 1941.**

(Program 61-7582-1298 p. 354)

American League for Peace and Democracy

Gordon W. Allport

**Member, Psychologists Committee,
1939. (Ltrhd 4/6/39 HCUA files
100-73597-12)**

American Rescue Ship Mission

Walter Gellhorn

**Sponsor, 1940-41; withdrew
March 10, 1941.**

("DW" 2/6/41; admitted; 101-6064-30)

Communist Party, USA

Walter Gellhorn

Identified as having been a concealed Communist by Louis Budenz, former national official of the Communist Party, USA, in testimony December 23, 1952, before Special House Committee investigating tax-exempt foundations. Denied by Gellhorn in testimony before same committee on December 30, 1952. (NY "Times" 12/24/52, 12/31/52; 101-6064)

Council for Pan-American Democracy

Gordon W. Allport

Signer, open letter to President urging severance of diplomatic relations with Franco government in Spain, 1942. ("DW" 10/20/42; 100-73597-8)

International Labor Defense

Walter Gellhorn

The International Labor Defense claimed to have organized and conducted the defense in the Angelo Herndon case. Gellhorn admittedly helped prepare the brief in support of the successful appeal of Angelo Herndon to the United States Supreme Court in 1937. Claimed he served without fee and that the International Labor Defense raised the funds to finance the printing of the brief on Herndon's behalf. Herndon was a

Walter Gellhorn (Cont'd)

Negro Communist who was convicted in Georgia in 1933 for attempting to incite insurrection as a result of his activities in connection with the Communist Party. (Louis Colman,

Equal Justice 1936-1937, pp. 14-16, 101-6064-30 pp. 2-4; Angel Herndon, Let Me Live, p. 337)

Charles S. Johnson

Sent greetings to national conference held in Washington, D. C., July 8-9, 1939, (Equal Justice, July, 1939,

123-12551-39, p. 4)

Whitney North Seymour

Was retained by the International Labor Defense to present the successful appeal to the United States Supreme Court in the Angelo Herndon case. Served without fee. (Louis Colman, * Was one of a group of attorneys retained by the International Labor Defense in 1938 to handle the successful appeal of Joseph G. Strecker before the United States Supreme Court. Strecker, an alien, had been ordered deported, because of his admitted membership in the Communist Party in 1932. (The New York Times,

February 11, 1939; Daily Record, October 20, 1938; 61-7559-3820X19)

the Committee

While publicity director, CIO*Political Action Committee, with other publicity men assisted officials of Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee in mapping out national fund raising campaign, 1945. (Tesur; 100-7061-710, 852, 923 pp. 15, 18)

36-1937, pp. 14-16; 101-6064-30 pp. 2-4)

of Industrial Organizations.

League of American Writers

Helen M. Lynd

Signer, Call to 4th Congress,
June 6-8, 1941.

("DW" 4/5/41; 100-357382-2)

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

Gordon W. Allport

Member, Ad Hoc Committee to issue
a new invitation to and to welcome
Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury,
whose first visa application rejected
because sponsored by National
Council of American-Soviet Friend-
ship, 1948. (Boston "Globe" 11/5/48;
NY "Herald Tribune" 11/13/48; 100-
146964-1477 p. 8)
Sponsor, New Orleans Council,
1943-1947; claimed he resigned
when organization cited by Attorney
General. (NO "Times Picayune" 11/15/43

11/7/47; NO "States" 11/5/47, 11/6/47; lethds 1945, 9/10/47;
100-146964-182, 599, 1372; 121-30436-32)

en M. Lynd

Attended meeting, February 11, 1944.
(Anon; 100-357382-2)

Sponsor, Committee on Education,
1946. (Bulletin of Com on Educ 1/46;
100-357382-2)

Federation for Constitutional Liberties

G. W. Allport

Signer, open letter from National
Federation for Constitutional Liberties
to Attorney General urging action on
attempt to bar minority parties from
ballot, September 23, 1940.

("DW" 9/24/40)

Gordon W. Allport (Cont'd)

Signer, open letter from National Federation for Constitutional Liberties to House of Representatives to terminate Dies Committee, February 1942 and January 1943, (100-1170-177; 61-7582-1298 p. 1240)

Signer, open letter from National Federation for Constitutional Liberties supporting War Department's "democratic decision" that Communists were eligible for commissions, March 19, 1945. ("DW" 3/19/45; 61-7557-A)

ern Negro Youth Congress

Charles S. Johnson

Member, Advisory Board, 1947. States withdrew because he did not agree with trend of organization's activities which he suspected were motivated by subversive interests, (123-12551-28 p. 5; 39 p. 5)

he Abraham Lincoln Brigade

Lynd

Sponsor, advertisement "For America's Cake Break with Franco Spain," 1945. (Wash. "Post" 3/21/45; NY "Times" 3/3/45; 100-357382-2)

League

Member, 1933; expelled in 1934 for Trotskyite activity. (65-57981-12; 100-138754-1086 p. 15)

ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS CITED BY
CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (ACDIF)
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, June 25, 1942, p. 13,
and March 20, 1944, p. 37)

Robert E. Cushman

Signed a letter sent by the ACDIF protesting the prosecution of Communists for criminal syndicalism in Oklahoma, 1941. (100-3-52-18 p. 44)

Frank Loeschner

Signed a letter sent by the ACDIF protesting the prosecution of Communists for criminal syndicalism in Oklahoma, 1941. (100-3-52-18 p. 41)

American Committee to Save Refugees

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 43, 112, 123, 133, 138, 167, 180)

Helen M. Lynd

Member, Executive Board, 1942.
(100-7061-115 p. 10)

American Student Union (ASU)

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 83; also cited in Reports January 3, 1943, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 16; and March 29, 1944, p. 150)

Gordon W. Allport

Active in raising funds.
(100-73597-8)

Joseph P. Lyford

Editor, 1941, Harvard Progressive, official publication of Harvard chapter of ASU. (123-8080-16 p. 7)

Edward Shils

Member, 1937. (Letter dated July 30, 1944 from Dean of Students, University of Chicago to 7th Civil Service Region, CSC. List and Letters are available at CSC Committee for Concerted Peace Efforts (CCPE) headquarters; 100-371463) (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 105)

Gordon W. Allport

One of the sponsors of a statement on behalf of concerted peace efforts in January, 1938.

(100-73597-8)

Committee for Defense of Public Education (CDPE)

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 154)

Helen M. Lynd

Attended mass meeting in New York City in 1940. (Daily Worker, 12/19/40 p. 4 col. 8)

Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo (CCLE)

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 137-138)

Gordon W. Allport

Name appeared on a list under heading "Psychologists" cited by above Special Committee as individuals affiliated with CCLE. (61-7582-1298 p. 668)

Daily Worker

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 59 and 60; also cited in Reports, January 3, 1939, p. 30; January 3, 1940, p. 7; January 3, 1941, p. 14; and June 25, 1942, p. 4) (Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, p. 44)

Theodore Draper

Assistant Foreign Editor, 1934-1936. Admitted Daily Worker association because of feeling of accord with Communist Party movement. (100-362227-8 p. 3)

Friday

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 20, 1944, p. 143)

Theodore Draper

Contributing writer.

(100-362227-8 p. 5)

Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions
(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions and held in New York City on March 25, 26, and 27, 1949, House Report No. 1954, April 26, 1950 (originally released April 19, 1949), p. 2; and House Report No. 378, on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951, original date, April 1, 1951, pp. 11-12)

Helen M. Lynd

Sponsor, 1944.

(100-197270-21)

International Juridical Association

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 20, 1944, p. 149)

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report on the National Lawyers Guild, House Report No. 3123, September 21, 1950 (originally released September 17, 1950), p. 12)

Walter Gellhorn

Member, Executive Committee.
Gellhorn has denied that this organization was pro-Soviet.

(101-6064-30 p. 26)

John Reed Clubs of the United States

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 20, 1944, p. 175)

Gordon W. Allport

Sponsored John Reed Memorial meeting in conjunction with John Reed Society of Harvard (also known as the John Reed Club of Harvard). (100-73597-8)

Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944,
p. 82)

Gordon W. Allport

Member, Psychologists' Committee,
1938.

(61-7565-176)

National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (NCASP)
(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Review of the
Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace arranged by the
National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions and held in
New York City on March 25, 26, and 27, 1949, House Report No. 1954,
April 26, 1950 (originally released April 19, 1949), p. 2)

Gordon W. Allport

Among 150 educators signed statement
issued by NCASP to reinstate University
of Washington professors and characteriz-
ing act as a "threat" to the entire
educational system, March, 1949.

(121-23278-267X12)

National Emergency Conference

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944,
p. 65)

Gordon W. Allport

Signed call to convene, May, 1939.

(61-7582-1298 p. 1206)

Walter Gellhorn

Professedly a sponsor.

(101-6064-30 p. 26)

National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (NECDR)

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 102)

Walter Gellhorn

Sponsored initial conference called the National Emergency Conference held in May, 1939, but had name removed as sponsor when conference became the NECDR.

(101-6064-30 p. 26)

National Lawyers' Guild

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 149)

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report on the National Lawyers' Guild, House Report No. 3123, September 21, 1950 (originally released September 17, 1950))

Walter Gellhorn

Professedly member and served on the Committee on Administrative Law.

John Lord O'Brian

One of four chairmen, Committee on Labor, Employment and Social Security, 1933.

(100-7321-6 p. 651)

New Masses

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 75; also cited in Reports, January 3, 1930, p. 80; and June 25, 1942, pp. 4 and 21)

Theodore Draper

Staff member about 1936-1938; Editor, 1938.

(100-362227-1; New Masses 2/22/38 p. 13)

113212

New Theatre League

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 120, 171, and 177)

Robert Sherwood

Assisted in the development of the New Theatre School, an offspring of the New Theatre League. (Hearings, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, August, 1938, p. 540)

New York Conference for Inalienable Rights (NYCIR)

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 149)

Robert Sherwood

Contributed to fund-raising drive.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
(100-10117-3)

Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Vito Marcantonio

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 122)

Walter Gellhorn

Professed member.

(101-6064-30 p. 28)

Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions and held in New York City on March 25, 26 and 27, 1949, House Report No. 1054, April 23, 1950 (originally released April 19, 1949); and House Report No. 378, on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951, original date, April 1, 1951, p. 11)

Helen M. Lynd

Sponsor of conference held in New York City, March, 1949. (House Report No. 1954, supra p. 59)

Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW)

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 147)

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 592, June 12, 1947)

Gordon W. Allport

Listed as charter member of New England Friends of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

(100-73597-8 p. 38)

Charles S. Johnson

Member, 1938.

(123-12551-39 pp. 2-5)

Monte M. Lemann

Sponsor of conferences, 1940 and 1942. Claimed to have resigned in 1951 when organization was cited by Committee on Un-American Activities.

(100-10355-3, p. 45; 100-22712-27, p. 23; 121-30436-32)

Workers School of New York City

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 89 and 168)

Walter Gellhorn

Lectured in January, 1943, as representative of Office of Price Administration by own admission.

(101-6064-30)

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS (IPR)

As a result of documentary evidence and testimony from witnesses who appeared during 1951-1952 before the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary, this Committee concluded in its report dated July 2, 1952, that while most members of the Institute of Pacific Relations and its board of trustees were inactive and without any influence over the policies of the organization, and while the names of eminent individuals were by design used as a responsible and impressive screen for the activities of the IPR inner core, the activities, administration and policies of the IPR were controlled by a small core of Communists or pro-Communist personnel; that the IPR was considered by the American Communist Party and by Soviet officials as an instrument of Soviet policy, propaganda and military intelligence; that the IPR was used as a channel for Communist and Soviet propaganda and its leadership used IPR prestige to promote the interests of the Soviet Union; that the IPR had for its chief function the influencing of United States public opinion and was a vehicle used by the Communists to orientate American Far Eastern policies; and that persons associated with the IPR were instrumental in keeping United States policy on a course favorable to Communist objectives in China.

(SAC Letter No. 53-69, 10/20/53, Sect. (N))

The following persons have been identified as the

Institute of Pacific Relations:

Laird Bell

Member prior to World War II.
Contributed \$25 in 1937, 1939, and
1942. (100-64700-271 pp. 1077, 2479;
77-64408-29 p. 6)

Arthur H. Dean

Member 1939-1953. Member, board of
trustees and vice-chairman of the American
Council 1946-1950; resigned as international
chairman 1952; contributed over \$8,300
from 1939-1951. (77-57214-24 p. 15)

Paul G. Hoffman

Member, board of trustees, 1943-1948;
contributed each year \$100 from 1943-
1947; instrumental in soliciting con-
tributions from others. (77-58760-63)

Henry R. Luce

Member, board of trustees, 1938, 1939-1940
1941-1946; member, advisory committee
Southern California Research, 1938; member
executive committee for Southern California
Bay region 1939-1940 and 1941-1945; one of
four vice-chairmen, 1946; distributed IPR
publications; contributed over \$11,000 from
1931-1942. (100-64700-1217 p. 14;
77-54878-230 p. 6). 17)

Walter H. Millis

Member, board of trustees, Hawaiian group,
1935-1936; member, American Council,
1937 and 1938. (100-64700-264 p. 32;
100-64700-1004 p. 17)

**Francis T. P.
Plimpton**

Member 1937, 1954. (100-64700-271 p. 1771;
Who's Who in America 1954 - 1955)

James D. Zellerbach

Candidate for board of trustees 1947.
Member of board of trustees 1948.
(124-524-9 p. 2; 100-64700-364 p. 77)

IDENTIFICATION OF ADDITIONAL INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE
CRITICIZED OR OPPOSED METHODS TAKEN TO COMBAT
COMMUNISM

113213

Loyalty-Security Programs

Herbert L. Block

cartoonist, Washington Post and Times Herald, (Washington Post, 12/5/47 9/6/51, 94-8-2-51)

consultant, Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, (Eleanor Bontecchi, The Federal-Loyalty Security Program, Ithaca, *

associate professor, Yale University, (Bridgeport (Conn.) Herald, 12/7/47, **

consultant, The Fund for the Republic; professor, Cornell University, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 3/49, pp. 69-72;

assistant to the president, The 100-35000 Fund for the Republic. 34)

(Daily People's World, 8/4/53, p. 6)

Paul G. Hoffman

chairman, board of directors, The Fund for the Republic.

Robert M. Hutchins

(Washington Star, 2/8/49, Portland Oregonian, 6/28/55; 77-5000 president, The Fund for the Republic)

(Daily Worker, 7/7/50, p. 4; 4/4/55, p. 2; Southern California Daily Trojan professor, Columbia University. I

Paul F. Lazarsfeld

(Daily People's World, 5/22/50, p. 5)

Walter Lillie

consultant, The Fund for the Republic.

(Daily Worker, 9/13/55, p. 3)

John Lord O'Brien

attorney, Washington, D. C.

Edward Shils

(The New York Times, 1/24/48; 94-4-2757-0)

professor, University of Chicago

(Edward Shils, "Security and Science Sacrificed to Loyalty," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, April, 1955, pp. 106-109, Federal of State Legislative Committee Investigating Communism

Gordon W. Allport

professor, Harvard University

(Daily Worker, 2/5/54, p. 6; 3/17/47, p. 3; Boston Globe, 11/26/

Ralph B. Brown, Jr.,

associate professor, Yale Un

(Bridgeport (Conn) Herald 12/7/47; 121-34869-IX)

*Cornell University Press, 1953)

**121-34869-IX: [redacted] - 133 - Jr., "6,000,000 Second-C

The Nation, 6/28/52, pp. 644-647; [redacted] and John

"Security Tests for Maritime Workers: Due Process Under the Program," The Yale Law Journal, July, 1953, pp. 1163-120

"Loyalty-Security Measures and Employment Opportunities" Atomic Scientists, April, 1955, pp. 113-117)

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102103

Robert E. Cushman consultant, The Fund for the Republic;
professor, Cornell University.
(Public Administration Issue, Autumn, 1943; 94-4-5366-12X4;*)

Elmer H. Davis consultant, The Fund for the Republic.
(Elmer Davis, "But We Were Born Free" Indianapolis and **

Walter Gellhorn professor, Columbia University. ***
(Daily Worker, 2/1/39, p. 1; New York Herald-Tribune, 4/19/48;

Erwin N. Griswold dean, Harvard University Law
School. (100-353406-26, p. 3; New York
Herald Tribune, 4/19/48; 62-58854-A; Erwin N. Griswold, The Fifth ****

Robert M. Hutchins president, The Fund for the
Republic. (Daily People's World, 4/17/50,
p. 2; 12/15/52, p. 8; Washington Post, 6/12/53, p. 4; Southern*****

Robert E. Sherwood playwright.
(Daily People's World, 2/27/48, p. 5)

Anti-Communist Legislation

Gordon W. Allport professor, Harvard University.
[redacted] 100-73597-8, p. 31; Harvard Crimson, 5/22/48; 100-73597-8

David Fellman professor, University of Wisconsin.
(Daily Cardinal (University of Wisconsin) 5/27/48; 124-7990-1

Robert M. Hutchins president, The Fund for the Republic
(State of Illinois, Seditious Activities Investigation Commission
of Proceedings, Investigation of University of Chicago and Roosevelt
Court Decisions Involving Communists 1949, p. 48)

David Fellman professor, University of Wisconsin.
(Daily Cardinal (University of Wisconsin, 11/10/49)

Robert M. Hutchins president, The Fund for the Republic.
(Daily Worker, 6/25/51, p. 2)

Robert E. Sherwood playwright.
(100-138754-637 Encl.; The New York Times, 12/6/47,
p. 1, 5/22/48, p. 3; 6/14/49, p. 12; 4/11/50, p. 1)

*Missouri Bar Journal, October, 1940, pp. 138-143; 94-1-21057-8; 62-74616-10)

**New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1953)

***62-58854-A)

****Amendment Today. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955)

*****California Daily Trojan, 12/3/53, p. 1; 100-268336-5)

102104

IDENTIFICATION OF INDIVIDUALS WITH THE ACTIVITIES
OF SOCIALIST ORGANIZATIONS

102105

Social Democratic Federation in the United States

Daniel Bell

associate editor, Fortune; lecturer in sociology, Columbia University. Was managing editor, The New Leader, 1941-1944 and has been contributor since 1938. The New Leader was described in 1949 as the organ of the Social Democratic Federation in the United States. (The New Leader, 12/27/51, p. 8; 5/17/54, p. 23)

Social Democratic Party in Austria

Marie Jahoda

professor, New York University. Active in Social Democratic Party in Austria during early 1930's.

(123-14980-16, pp. 21, 27-28)

Socialist movement

Theodore Draper

writer. Admits having been associated with Socialist movement at early age because of the socialistic and progressive influence of his family.

(100-362227-8)

Socialist Party

Gordon W. Allport

professor, Harvard University. Reported to have been member of Socialist Party until 1941, when he resigned. (100-73597-16, p. 2)

egal

coordinator, The Fund for the Republic. Described in 1943 as a former organizer for Socialist Party.

(100-7660-3793)

122106

ocialist Yo

ic, Young Socialist League, and Young Socialist Challenge

Michael

igton

member, National Executive Committee, Socialist Youth League, 1953-1954; member, National Executive Committee, Young Socialist League, 1954; member, Editorial Board, Young Socialist Challenge, organ of Young Socialist League, 1954.

(100-4119-5; Labor Action, 2/22/54, p. 8)

Workers' Defense League

George N. Chaster

vice-chairman, board of directors, The Fund for the Republic; president, Hunter College. Member of committee appointed by Workers' Defense League, December, 1948, to assemble fact data concerning "forced labor" all over world. Workers' Defense League has been described by House Committee on Un-American Activities as defacto organization of Socialist Party. (T)

York Times, 12/6/48, p. 15; Investigation of Un-American Activities. Hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American

Rowland Watts

Employed by Workers' Defense League since 1946; now its national

(Report of The Fund for the Republic, 5/3

*Activities, 75th Congress, 3rd Session, on H. Res. 282. Washington Printing Office, 1938, p. 678)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: October 11, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: MONOGRAPH ON
FUND FOR THE REPUBLICALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY 208 BZ/STP

Tolson	
Boardman	
Belmont	
Harbo	
Mohr	
Parsons	
Rosen	
Tamm	
Sizoo	
Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Holloman	
Gandy	

You asked for my views on the monograph on the Fund for the Republic. In its present form, I do not think it fulfills the purpose for which it was intended and I would oppose its dissemination. It simply does not get across the picture and is unwieldy in its present form. While I have not sat down and studied each page and checked the content against the available material, it seems to me that we have not given the full and complete picture. For example, in discussing the officers, I think there should be an account of Paul Hoffman's views on security. We know that when he was an administrator of ECA he had controversies with Congress and was criticized by Members of Congress by speeches on the floor. The same applies to Robert Maynard Hutchins. His past activities are well documented. It seems that to give a picture of the Fund for the Republic we should show how Hutchins denounced the Supreme Court upholding the Smith Act, how he advocated the admission of Red China to the UN, his denunciation of loyalty oaths, his continual attack on the Bureau over the years which would make impossible, for example, any impartial survey of the FBI by any organization which Hutchins had any part whatsoever. We know that W. H. Ferry is one of the Machiavellian characters of the Fund for the Republic; that he was Director of Publicity for CIO-PAC in 1944 and 1945. It seems that it should be shown that some of the publicity of the CIO-PAC during that period, which if my memory is correct, was considerably to the left. Walter Millis, a consultant of the Fund for the Republic has in speaking and writing opposed security. It seems to me that this has an important place in a document such as this.

I do not recall seeing in the monograph the account of the so-called Freedom Agenda backed by the Fund for the Republic for the League of Women Voters and the material put out by a former member of the Communist Party which was so scandalous that George Sokolsky devoted an entire column to it. Theodore Draper, while never a proven member of the Communist Party, has admitted that for all practical purposes, he could be regarded as a Communist, and he was tied up with Communism. He is doing the all-important History of the Communist Party. Likewise, there is no account of Earl Browder's connections. He is serving as a source of

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. BelmontLBN:ptm
1 NOV 1955

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INDEXED - 1

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Memo for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols

RE: MONOGRAPH ON THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

information for Daniel Bell and Draper and is being paid \$3600 a year by the Fund. It is, of course, entirely possible that this information was not available to the authors at the time the monograph was written; however, I think we did know and have known for sometime that Browder was being used.

If my recollection is correct, the monograph does not take up the proposed plans of the Fund for the Republic to investigate the American Legion and the FBI, nor is the American Legion's statement incorporated therein, nor the account of the Executive Committee in Illinois in ordering that the Illinois Legion not use the Fund's grant. Likewise, it seems that one of the most vital projects from the standpoint of justice is the project handled by Stanford University under Carl B. Spaeth to survey the testimony of former Communist witnesses. In fact, Spaeth's tie-up with Hiss would be, in my opinion, appropriate for such a monograph. Likewise, there has been considerable editorial reaction and columns by columnists, statements by public figures and the commentaries of Fulton Lewis that add to the picture of the Fund for the Republic. These, it would seem, have a place in monographs such as we originally contemplated.

I have certain specific objections to the text of the attached monograph; however, I think these are inconsequential compared to the over-all picture of the monograph in its present form. I think that my objections can best be summed up by pointing out that the monograph as presently prepared is based on a premise being absolutely accurate, which we must be, being scholarly, but overlooks the real need of presenting the Fund for the Republic in its light of being destructive, anti-security, engaging in political propaganda activity, which, of course, is a violation of law. ^{creating trusts} Certain comments of Henry Ford to the Director regarding the contract of Herb Block wherein the proviso is set forth that politics were not to be engaged in, was scratched out in ink by Hutchins, is evidence of Hutchins' attempt to engage in politics and propaganda.

Organizationwise, I think in its present form the monograph is unwieldy, it will not be read by the people we want to read it and will not serve as a ready source for information which might be used under certain circumstances. For example, beginning on page 122, in a section devoted to "Organizations Designated by the Attorney General Pursuant to Executive Order 10450", this section first lists the name of the organization and then under each organization lists the name of individuals being a member of that organization. No place could I find

Memo for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols

RE: MONOGRAPH ON THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

the name of an individual with all of his organization affiliations. In connection with projects, I think that each project should be set forth and then immediately following there should be set forth what information we have on the projects. For example, one of the projects which all of the commentators so far have overlooked is the project of dealing with the draftee and internal security. I do not know whether we have checked with the Defense Department to find out what their views are on this project, but no doubt they would be vigorously opposed to it. It was prepared by Roland Watts, employed by the Workers Defense League since 1946 and who himself served three years in a conscientious objector's camp during World War II. It is inconceivable to me that such an individual and such an organization could make such an objective study of the draftee and internal security. This certainly would seem to have a place in a monograph such as this.

Amos Landman, who was identified as a member of the Communist Party, by Winston Burdette, and who invoked the Fifth Amendment, if my recollection is correct, was recently given a project as publicity man for the Fund for the Republic. He certainly should be singled out. In the handling of the bulletin on atomic scientists, Jay Robert Oppenheimer's connection therewith should be highlighted.

In discussing the various publications sent out, all of which are anti-security, it would seem that much space could be saved by merely describing the publications, their content, to whom they were sent and holding the quotes to a minimum. For example, on page 91, in discussing faceless informers, I think we should describe what the faceless informer series was and point out that the real evil which led to the reviews in Colorado was a failure on the part of Colorado authorities to afford due process to investigate for themselves information received. While much of the information pertaining to the Bureau was inaccurate, I do not think we can make the sweeping statement that is made in the monograph that the author "attributes to this Bureau a course of action never pursued." The fact remains that we did give out the names to the Governor.

I realize that a lot of work has already gone into this monograph and if we are to send it out, I think we should start afresh. While I have not had the time to outline how it should be presented, it seems to me that the way to

Memo for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols

RE: MONOGRAPH ON THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

to handle it would be to first describe the Fund for the Republic, and its relationship to the Ford Foundation and so forth. Secondly, we should identify the officers, and all individuals connected with the Fund for the Republic, setting forth after the name of each, two categories, first of all public source information showing a citation, and secondly, any classified information that might be in the Bureau's files. Third I think we should take up the projects of the Fund for the Republic and after describing each project we should then set forth any available information bearing upon the projects. For example, in discussing the survey of witnesses, the important key public comments of Fulton Lewis and others might be set forth. The testimony of Alger Hiss that he knew Carl Spaeth might be set forth and then any other information which we might have. Certainly a reference should be made to the American Legion statement on the Fund with Hutchins answer, which in many respects, would prove to a reasonable person the correctness of the Legion position.

also Hutchins speech here last Friday re need for an "impartial" inquiry. H
I think we should have a section on the over-all work of the Fund into which can be placed available data which would indicate the Fund for the Republic is engaged in propaganda, is engaged in political activity and such public comments as the recent address by Senator Bricker of Ohio. I think that there should then be an index by subject matter as well as by name. In discussing individuals, for instance, where we refer to Telford Taylor and his book, I think Telford Taylor's record should be set forth and mention should be made of the fact that his name is flagged in Civil Service Commission files on security grounds. I think in this way that it would not be necessary for anybody to state any conclusions, they would be drawn by the time anybody finished reading a few pages of such a monograph.

I agree with Nichols as presently prepared the monograph does not serve the purpose which we have in mind.

10711

- 4 -

108
I concur. I am amazed at certain gaps herein. Boardman & Belmont must personally take hold & supervise this.

H

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: October 18, 1955

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: MONOGRAPH ON THE FUND FOR THE
REPUBLIC
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
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Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

PREDICATIONALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/30/89 BY 2083UJ

On returning from leave on Monday, October 17, 1955, I read Mr. Nichols' memorandum to Mr. Tolson dated October 11, 1955, concerning the above-captioned monograph prepared by the Central Research Section. It is immensely disturbing.

We all know that The Fund for the Republic is potentially an insidious threat to the FBI and the security program of this Nation. It could develop into the greatest threat we have yet faced. On this we are all in agreement.

Having immersed myself and lived with this subject day in and day out without a letup for a month, it is not possible for me to agree in substance with what Mr. Nichols said in his memorandum. Because of the importance of the whole matter to the Bureau and because of my own intense personal interest in it, I am taking the liberty of setting forth my views here in an effort (1) to keep the record straight; (2) to free it of ambiguities; (3) to facilitate a better mutual understanding; and (4) to urge putting the monograph as originally prepared to some good use for the Bureau. If what I say is valueless or wrong, I am perfectly willing to be severely censured for it. In fact, I ought to be if I am in error.

MR. NICHOLS' EVALUATION OF THE MONOGRAPH MISLEADING

May I suggest most respectfully that Mr. Nichols seems not to have kept in mind (1) the purpose of our monograph and (2) the standards which governed our research and writing. Therefore, his evaluation misrepresents the study and unfairly indicts the careful thought and hard efforts of the men who prepared it.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this monograph was to present an objective, sober, cold,

WCS:mjh

(4)

1 - Mr. Nichols

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Section tickler

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L. J. H. S. N.
FILES

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

analytical and factual study of the Fund. It was to be an informative monograph, not an attack monograph. This purpose was clearly stated in memoranda and approved. If a different purpose was set forth, most surely a different type of study could have been made. But, the purpose was set and we adhered to it without deviation.

STANDARDS

The standards used to write this monograph were of the most rigid and exacting nature. This means that we included only factual, provable, verified, objective material. This means we used only material which cannot be successfully rebutted by any person or organization. This means we used material which cannot embarrass or damage the work and reputation of the Bureau. Further, in this connection, it is important to note that we included only material where the original source is available for verification.

THE ASSUMPTION

The assumption used in preparing this monograph was this: If disseminated, sooner or later a copy will find its way into the hands of Robert M. Hutchins and other officials of The Fund for the Republic. Hence, nothing should be put into it which they could twist, distort and use against us. This assumption was approved.

EXCLUSION

We did exclude certain available material from this monograph. We deliberately and consciously excluded all hearsay, innuendoes, allegations, gossip and unproven or unverified statements. True, this makes our study restrained, calm and somewhat colorless. But, it also makes it factual. Mr. Nichols says we did not give a complete picture. If he means including allegations and unproven statements, he is right. If he means verified facts, he is wrong. We gave a complete verifiable, factual picture. And, facts are stubborn things. They persist long after fiction evaporates from the minds of men.

OBSERVATIONS MADE BY MR. NICHOLS

Mr. Nichols indicates that there are gaps in the monograph. Of course there are. This is explained by my reference to the exclusions in the above

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

paragraph. There are gaps because there are no verified facts to fill the gaps. In our judgment, in view of contemplated dissemination, it is far better to leave the gaps unfilled than to fill them with fiction. It is to be regretted that the derogatory factual information about the Fund and its men is so meager. But, it is meager at this time (which is not surprising for we have not investigated the Fund). This is a truth we cannot tamper with.

Mr. Nichols mentions the desirability of including the critical views on security matters of men connected with the Fund. This has been done and in some detail. In fact, this point has been highlighted in three different places in the Conclusions alone (see p. xxix, items 8, 9, 10).

Mr. Nichols says it should be shown that "some of the publicity of the CIO-PAC" during the period W. H. Ferry was Director of Publicity "was considerably to the left." The phrase "considerably to the left" practically defies any accurate definition. The first question here is: "Left of what?" The center position must be determined and competent political scientists of national and international reputation have been disagreeing for generations as to where it is. To attempt any such thing in this monograph would make us look ridiculous. Further, it would at once put us in the field of vague, nebulous political theory which has no place at all in our factual study. To include such material would leave us wide open to rebuttal, something we wish to avoid.

Mr. Nichols mentions Theodore Draper, saying that "while never a proven member of the Communist Party, (he) has admitted that for all practical purposes he could be regarded as a Communist, and he was tied up with Communism." Draper's Communist connections have been established quite clearly in this monograph. (See pp. 129, 132)

Mr. Nichols says that the monograph does not cover the Fund's proposed plans to investigate the American Legion and the FBI. No, it does not, for these are allegations and not verified facts. It is to be noted that Mr. Nichols himself uses the phrase "proposed plans." Also, it is questionable as to the value of referring to the FBI in this matter even if it was a fact, for it would be introducing a personal element into the monograph which might detract from its effectiveness. For example, the Bureau at present is inclined

Memorandum to Mr. A.H. Belmont from W.C. Sullivan

to treat with reserve and detachment General Trudeau's charges against CIA because of the conflict going on between CIA and G-2. So, too, a reader of this monograph might get the idea that this was a grudge matter and personal fight between the Bureau and the Fund if such material was included.

Mr. Nichols thinks that "the tie up" of Alger Hiss with Carl Spaeth of Stanford University should be written up. There is only one apparent fact-- that they were friendly with each other. This proves nothing. To include it in a monograph that will be disseminated leaves us open to the old canard of "guilt by friendship." If we had additional conclusive derogatory information on Spaeth, it would be a different matter, but we do not. Further, Spaeth's connection with the activities of the Fund is based on allegation; on unverified information. If used, some reader could make an issue of the claim that Spaeth was on leave of absence from Stanford University at the time he was said to have dealt with the Fund.

Mr. Nichols says that statements of public figures and columnists like Fulton Lewis, Jr., and George Sokolsky should be included. In the first place, on discussing this matter with the Director, he advised me that what he had in mind was to use what these men said as leads for our own research and not as sources to be quoted. The Director pointed out that to be objective, if we quoted columnists who were critical of the Fund, we would have to also quote columnists who support the Fund and all this harangue would serve no good end. Further, it surely would make the FBI look mighty weak and inefficient to be quoting and relying on public figures and newspaper columnists as its authorities to show that the Fund is a security menace. We all know that thoughtful people do not hold newspaper columnists in high esteem. They are looked upon in the main as hired peddlers of words. On reading the monograph, they may well say: "If the Bureau cannot do better than this, its information is extremely scanty and its case woefully weak."

Mr. Nichols referred to Roland Watts and his lack of objectivity. This has been treated in the monograph.

Mr. Nichols objects to the use of quotations from the literature distributed by the Fund. Keeping in mind that we want a monograph that cannot be rebutted--there is only one way to avoid as much argument as possible and that is to put the authors' controversial views in their own words. For us to summarize and describe what they say leaves us most vulnerable.

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

(Again, may I mention that the assumption is that some of these authors may see this monograph.)

Mr. Nichols recommends highlighting the connection which Jay Robert Oppenheimer has with the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. - This Bulletin has connected with it dozens and dozens and dozens of scientists concerning whom we have nothing derogatory and no doubt a number are friendly to the Bureau. We have nothing conclusive of a derogatory nature on the journal itself. Hence, in our judgment, it would serve no effective purpose to highlight Oppenheimer's connection with it. In fact, it might alienate some of our friends if it became public. In addition to this, we did highlight Oppenheimer in the monograph in the most unfavorable manner possible through quoting him relative to his participation in the Murrow Television Program.

Mr. Nichols mentions the desirability of including Earl Browder and his connection with the Fund in this monograph. We agree. It should be done and at this date can be done. It was not done before because the connection was in the allegation stage and not verified. Our cut-off date for the monograph was September 9, 1955, and approved as such. Verified factual information on Browder was made available October 6, 1955, to which Mr. Nichols had access in his memorandum of October 11, 1955. With regard to Amos Landman, also referred to, a similar situation prevailed where we believed more conclusive and verified factual information was needed.

Mr. Nichols objects to the organization of this monograph. There are as many ways to organize a monograph as there are writers. If a person will carefully examine our seven-page Table of Contents, I think the conclusion will have to be drawn that we gave great attention to its organization and set it up in what we consider to be the most detailed and clearest manner applicable to the objective study made. If we had much more conclusive derogatory factual material, it could have been organized differently and along certain lines suggested by Mr. Nichols. We considered that organization in the very beginning, but rejected it because we believed the material would not be impressive if organized that way due to the lack of sufficient derogatory factual material. The scope of this study is tremendous and we organized the material as tightly as possible in view of this fact.

Lastly, Mr. Nichols writes: "I think that my objections can best be summed up by pointing out that the monograph as presently prepared is based

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

on a premise being absolutely accurate, which we must be, being scholarly, but overlooks the real need of presenting the Fund for the Republic in its light of being destructive, anti-security, engaging in political propaganda activity, which, of course is a violation of law."

In this monograph, we tried to overlook no pertinent verified or verifiable factual material. A careful reading of it will show that this monograph does reveal that The Fund for the Republic is (a) destructive and negative in its procedures; (b) anti-security; (c) engaged in political propaganda. It accomplishes this with verified facts, meager though they are at this time.

STILL VALUABLE

It does seem to me that this monograph is still valuable to the Bureau. It is sound, factual, tightly organized and restrained in tone. The men of this Section put an immense amount of thought and effort into it. They pushed themselves relentlessly and with genuine enthusiasm until it was completed. We should find a use for it.

THE NEW MONOGRAPH

The new monograph is being completed along the lines suggested. Therefore, it cannot and will not contain all verified, factual material. It will not be objective. It will have its purpose. It may be that both monographs can be used to help the Bureau in this matter but for different purposes.

NOT A DEFENSE

This memorandum is not to be considered as a defense of any kind whatsoever. It is not believed that the monograph in question needs any defense. It stands on its own quality. As I said in the beginning, this memorandum is written to keep the record straight and to facilitate a better mutual understanding of basic complex elements involved. It is not a simple issue.

THE FUTURE

The Bureau is now confronted with a serious opponent with tremendous resources, The Fund for the Republic. It is an opponent different in nature than any faced before. It is likely that this Fund will be operating and opposing

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

us for the next ten to twelve years. When we consider the links which the men connected with the Fund have with liberals, Socialists and the old New Deal group, we can reasonably conclude that should a Democratic Administration come to power, the Bureau will be in for some very serious trouble. Also, this Fund has connected with it educators of national and international reputation and influence. They have a following in colleges and universities throughout the Nation (we need to penetrate this area, too). This creates an additional menace to us. Therefore, it would seem that the need for a very tightly drawn, objective and factual approach is paramount. We should do battle with these people, but to rush into battle with popguns when heavy artillery is needed invites disaster.

CONCLUSION

On concluding, may I say again, this whole subject is of intense interest and no little concern to me. This does not give me any freedom to be in error. Therefore, if I am in error here, I should be censured. If I am not in error, it does seem that the condemnation should be lifted from the monograph prepared.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. This is for the information of the Director, Mr. Nichols and yourself.

*Remain editors
of the monograph in
question to be disseminated
to the Department of
Justice only. Represented
reference material
WCS
10-21-56*

Mr. Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Boardman	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Parsons	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tamm	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Sizoo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Winterrowd	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Holloman	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

October 18, 1953

W.C. Sullivan

Mr. Sullivan was greatly disturbed regarding Mr. Nichol's memorandum of October 11 concerning the monograph on the Fund for the Republic. I suggested to him that at such time as the additional monograph is prepared, any observations we might have as to the desirability of disseminating the new monograph could be reflected in the cover memorandum. However, Mr. Sullivan felt that he should prepare a memorandum reflecting his views at this time. This memorandum is attached for the Director's information. Meanwhile, we are wholeheartedly applying ourselves to the new monograph along the lines indicated by Mr. Nichols.

Belmont

V.

File

Mr. Nichols

gwen

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November 7, 1955

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. BOARDMAN
MR. BELMONT
MR. NICHOLS

Deputy Attorney General Rogers called with reference to our report on the Fund for the Republic and stated he and the Attorney General had discussed this report Friday and felt a copy should go to George M. Humphrey, Secretary of the Treasury. I stated I agreed.

Very truly yours,

151 J.E.H.
John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7/31/89 BY 20863/ag

cc-Mr. Holloman

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 3:40 PM
DATE 11-7-55
BY mr

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Mr. Nichols

October 26, 1955

M. A. Jones

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
OCTOBER 26, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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DATE 7/31/89 BY 2088573/af

Fulton Lewis, Jr., devoted his entire 15-minute period to the Fund for the Republic.

He started off by stating that Arthur H. Dean had resigned as a director of the Fund giving as a reason that he disapproves and disagrees with the policies of the Fund. Dean was reluctant to discuss the matter with reporters and referred them to Paul Hoffman, Chairman of the Board of the Fund, who in turn referred them back to Mr. Dean after confirming Dean's resignation. Dean stated he was sorry he had to resign because Hoffman is a close personal friend, and he does not want to do anything that would embarrass him. Hoffman, in his brief discussion of the matter, threw in the cryptic remark, "I can't believe that Mr. Dean doesn't believe in the Bill of Rights." Lewis stated that actually the remark is not so cryptic but is rather a reflection of the elusive jargon that all of the top side of the Fund for the Republic use constantly. He stated they contend the Fund is a defense of the Bill of Rights and Civil Liberties and, therefore, if you disagree with them, you disagree with the Bill of Rights and are against Civil Liberties. Lewis stated that Hoffman even used this pitch at a man who considers him a personal friend. He said that half of the Board of Directors of the Fund are on there for the same reason, personal friendship to Paul Hoffman, but there are likely to be other resignations following this one.

Lewis then reiterated the story he told the previous night of the woman who wrote to the Fund suggesting the Harknesses to look into the Loyalty-Security Program rather than other "left-wing" individuals. She had received a letter in reply from Robert Hutchins in which Hutchins stated that her accusation was libelous. Lewis stated that Hutchins then listed as heading the program a list of nine lawyers in various parts of the nation as constituting a committee to study the Loyalty-Security Program. He stated Hutchins seized on this particular project, concerning Loyalty-Security and ignored the many other projects of the Fund which attacked the Loyalty-Security Program.

Lewis said that even this particular program, however, is questionable in character, particularly when Hutchins in the annual report of the Fund says that the committee of lawyers is going to make a "dispassionate appraisal" of the

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Fund for the Republic file 100-391697

RGH:rcw

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Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

October 26, 1955

Loyalty-Security Program. Lewis said it so happens there is a paid consultant on the staff of the Fund for the Republic by the name of Walter Millus whom he described as a former assistant editorial writer of the New York Herald-Tribune and a member of the Herald-Tribune syndicate. He stated Millus' views and writings were so far to the extreme liberal side that it was no surprise to the New York newspaper fraternity when his column was dropped by the New York Herald-Tribune and he later ceased writing for the Herald-Tribune syndicate. This was approximately one and one-half years ago.

Lewis stated that Millus as a paid consultant is associated with the particular project of the Fund, "The Lawyers' Study of the Federal Loyalty-Security Program." Lewis said he recently printed this information in one of his columns and Millus denied any connection with the project but it so happens that he (Lewis) has a letter over Millus' own signature which associates him with the project so Millus will have to disprove his own letter.

Lewis said that Millus recently participated in the radio program, "The Leading Question," CBS, in which he debated with Judge Robert Morris, former Chief Counsel of the Internal Security Subcommittee, now a Municipal Judge in New York. The subject of the debate was "The Loyalty-Security Program." Lewis said one sentence from the transcript is enough to characterize Millus and quoted the following sentence from the debate made by Millus, "What I object to is not the procedure in the Loyalty-Security Program but the very fact that the system is there."

Lewis stated that as late as last month Millus wrote a newspaper article entitled "Are Subversives Really Subversive?" which was a tirade of attack against the Loyalty-Security Program as a whole and against the FBI in particular. He referred to the FBI in this article as "a secret political police." Millus, in the article, stated that the truth seems to be that the great structure of internal security does not rest upon hard facts at all but on a series of indefinable fears and terrifying assumptions. Lewis said this is the character of the staff of the Fund for the Republic whose particular assignment is a "dispassionate appraisal" of the Loyalty-Security Program.

Referring back again to the annual report of the Fund, Lewis stated that in the same paragraph that Hutchins used to terrify the lady there is also mentioned the \$100,000 project by Adam Yarrolinsky who is doing a hand-picking compilation of 50 actual Loyalty-Security cases designed to show how mistreated the individual subjects were despite the fact that most of them were cleared.

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

October 23, 1955

He said that another project of the Fund is the compilation of laws and regulations pertaining to Loyalty-Security matters.

Lewis said it was very convenient to have 15 million dollars to distribute such studies to the American public. He said if you write something on the ultraliberal side you will be able to get a big distribution from the Fund for the Republic but he doubts that they will make any grant for the distribution of his series of broadcasts concerning the Fund. He stated that we on the American side, however, have our ways too and then referred to the fact that he had mentioned the previous evening that his series of broadcasts concerning the Fund were to be bound in book form and could be obtained for one dollar which would cover the cost of printing and postage. He stated that in connection with this he had received a letter that morning from an individual in New York who stated that he recalled that on a previous broadcast Lewis had disclosed that the Fund was sending their report to a list of all Federal judges. This individual who wrote to Lewis, who was not identified other than coming from New York, offered to bear the expenses to have Lewis' book sent to all Federal judges. Lewis said he had called this gentleman telephonically in the afternoon and advised him that there were 312 Federal judges, and this gentleman in turn advised Lewis that he would have a check just as soon as he could get it in the mail and instructed Lewis to send the book concerning his broadcasts to the entire list of Federal judges at his expense.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman *SP-1 11-8-55*

DATE: November 8, 1955

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont *AKB*SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLICALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-31-89 BY SP-8 SLJ

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Gandy	_____

In a memorandum to you dated 11-7-55, in captioned matter, you were furnished the results of a check of Bureau files concerning

who reportedly had done basic work on the Fund's study of Communist Record for Bibliography. This memorandum pointed out that

was a First Lieutenant in the Army presently assigned to the Office of. It was stated that the files of G-2, Department of the Army, were being checked concerning him.

On 11-7-55, the G-2 file concerning was examined by SA D. J. Sullivan, Liaison Section. This file reflects that G-2 conducted a National Agency Check (NAC) concerning during April, 1955. No derogatory information was developed as a result of this NAC. As a result of G-2's inquiries, was granted a clearance to handle up to and through "Secret" material. This clearance was granted 5-12-55.

Personnel Security Branch, G-2, advised that up to the present time nothing of a derogatory nature had appeared concerning however, was of the opinion that G-2 would now, because of former connection with the Fund for the Republic, conduct an investigation of him.

G-2 also made personnel file available for perusal. This file confirmed that is presently on duty in the Office of the. It was noted that when being considered for a commission in the Army, Research Associate, Fund for the Republic, addressed a letter to recommending highly. A summary on was submitted by memorandum dated 11-4-55. No other derogatory information was reflected in this file.

ACTION:

For your information.

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63 NOV 11 1955
- 1 - Mr. Nichols
 - 1 - Mr. Boardman
 - 1 - Mr. Belmont
 - 1 - Investigative Division

- 1 - Mr. P. C. Young
- 1 -
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

b6
b7C

October 26, 1955

Mr. Fulton Lewis, Jr.
1627 K Street, Northwest
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Fulton:

I thought you would like to read the attached copy of an editorial entitled "The Ford Foundation" which appears on page ten of the November, 1955, issue of The Methodist Challenge. The editor of the publication is [redacted] and the office of the publication is located at 1801 South Flower Street, Los Angeles 15, California.

b6
b7C

The reference made by the editor to commentators and columnists who are seeing the enemy approaching and heralding the warning is an acknowledgment of the job you have been doing in exposing the machinations of the Ford Fund for the Republic.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Edgar

ENCLOSURE

ENCLs

cc: Mr. Jones (Enclosure)
JJM:arm
(4)

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-31-89 BY 208513/08

October 27, 1955

Mr. Nichols:

Lee Pennington called 10-18-55 to advise that Dudley H. Swim, a retired member of the New York Stock Exchange and a millionaire, who previously has served as President of the Alumni Association of Stanford University, has written to American Legion Headquarters to express his concern about Stanford University's tie in with the Fund for the Republic. Swim is a prominent Legionnaire and packs considerable influence. He told Legion Headquarters that he felt it would be possible for him to stir up the alumni in a manner deemed advisable by the Legion. Lee wanted some suggestions as to what should be done.

After checking with you, Lee was referred to the Fulton Lewis broadcast which set forth Stanford University's acceptance of a project to investigate the testimony of various witnesses; i. e., Whitaker Chambers and Elizabeth Bentley. Lee was also told that the Fulton Lewis broadcast set forth the personalities and background of several individuals who were concerned with the Stanford project.

Pennington called me back 10-26-55 to advise that he had written Swim a letter covering the entire matter and he felt certain that things would begin to pop out in Palo Alto, California.

Respectfully,

C. D. DeLoach

CDD:gjm
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Mr. Tolson _____
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Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

100-391697-275

CRIM

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN *LB*

DATE: November 7, 1955

FROM : A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY SP8 BTJ/08

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

SYNOPSIS:

Pursuant to the Director's request of 11-3-55, Bufiles were checked concerning [redacted] and [redacted], reported to have done basic work on Fund's study of Communist record for bibliography. [redacted] was subject of applicant investigation in May, 1955, prior to present employment as [redacted]. Reports were furnished Deputy Attorney General 6/2/55. She was employed by Fund as bibliographer doing independent research work for Fund from June to September, 1953, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and from February to May, 1954, in Washington, D. C. When interviewed by Bureau, her supervisors on Fund project, Arthur Sutherland, Jr., and [redacted] (on whom summaries were submitted by my memorandum of 11/4/55) recommended her very favorably. [redacted] considered her best of individuals on project. From 1945 to 1949 [redacted] were close social contacts of Otto Verber, convicted of conspiracy to commit espionage on behalf of Soviet Union in 1953. On 11/2/55 Mr. Nichols and [redacted] of the Department discussed [redacted] connection with Fund and our investigation of her, which reflects information set forth above. [redacted] advised she was working [redacted] and this was another headache for them. [redacted] First Lieutenant assigned to [redacted] not investigated by Bureau. Employed on similar work by Fund July to September, 1953. G-2 files are being checked concerning him. Bureau files otherwise negative as to him.

RECOMMENDATION:

For your information. You will be advised separately of the check of G-2 files.

EFT:dje

(10)

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Boardman
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Investigative Division
- 1 - P. C. Young
- 1 - D. J. Sullivan
- 1 - Yellow (77-66866)
- 1 - Section tickler

RECORDED - 1
INDEXED - 1

18 NOV 10 1955

LIAISON

68 NOV 16 1955

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

DETAILS:

Pursuant to the Director's request as noted on Mr. Jones' memorandum to Mr. Nichols dated 11-3-55, Bufiles have been checked on [redacted]

[redacted] According to Fulton Lewis' radio broadcast [redacted] they did the original basic work on the Fund's study of the Communist record which resulted in the publication by the Fund of "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States." b6 b7C

Reports reflecting results of [redacted] were furnished to the Deputy Attorney General on 6/2/55 in connection with [redacted]

[redacted] listed employment by the International Monetary Fund in 1947; the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics from 1948 to 1950; and as a bibliographer for the Fund for the Republic, under the supervision of Professor [redacted] from June to September, 1953, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and from February to May, 1954, in Washington, D. C. Information concerning Arthur Sutherland, Jr., and [redacted]

[redacted] of the above-mentioned Fund project, was furnished to you by my memorandum of 11/4/55. During this investigation, Sutherland and [redacted] when interviewed in May, 1955, commented very favorably concerning [redacted] and [redacted] stated he considered her ability [redacted] to be superior. He said she was the best of the individuals that worked on the project under his supervision. On May 23, 1955, [redacted] of the Fund headquarters in New York, stated that [redacted] was a bibliographer doing independent research work for the Fund. She said that due to the nature of her work [redacted] had no set hours but submitted bills at irregular intervals to cover the number of hours of work she had completed. (77-66866-13, 20, 23) b6 b7C

The only derogatory information reflected in this investigation was that [redacted]

[redacted] were frequent social contacts (visiting each other's homes) of Otto Verber from 1945 to 1949. In June, 1953, in the U. S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Verber was convicted and sentenced to serve 40 months to 10 years in the custody of the Attorney General for conspiracy to commit espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union. Both [redacted] were interviewed by Bureau Agents relative to their association with Verber, at which time they stated that they had no idea he was engaged in espionage activities during the time of their acquaintanceship with him. (77-66866-22) b6 b7C

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

On 11/2/55 Mr. Nichols and [redacted] of the Department discussed our investigation of [redacted] [redacted] was furnished with background information concerning [redacted] connection with the Fund. Minor advised that [redacted] and stated that this was another headache for them.

[redacted] First Lieutenant in the Army assigned to [redacted] has not been investigated by the Bureau. Information developed in the above investigation of [redacted] reflects that he was employed by the Fund at Cambridge, Massachusetts from July to September, 1953, on work similar to that of [redacted] Liaison is checking the files of G-2 for information concerning him. (77-66866-22) Bureau files otherwise negative concerning [redacted]

b6
b7C

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13
6

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 10/12/55

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

b6
 b7C
 b7D

[redacted] told me that confidentially [redacted] [redacted] had written them a letter enclosing a reprint of an article which appeared in the Saturday Review of Literature issue of 8/20/55, by [redacted] a Boston lawyer who has recently written the book on the Oppenheimer case wherein he defends Oppenheimer. The article has to do with the security program and is quite critical. In due time, Fulton Lewis will use this on his program. In the meantime, if we have not received [redacted] book on Oppenheimer, I think we should get it. A photostat of the St. Louis Post Dispatch of 8/28/55, which contains the article by [redacted] in the Saturday Review, is attached.

Enclosure
 cc - Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont

LBN:fc
 (4)

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 DATE 7-31-89 BY [redacted]

RECORDED - 75
 INDEXED - 75

EX-121

1 OCT 25 1955

CONTRACT SEARCHED
 [redacted]

NOV 15 1955

68 NOV 9 1955

2 copies submitted
 10-17828
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Security Does Not Mean Safety

The Mirror
of
Public Opinion

Distinguished attorney finds both cruelty and foolishness in 50 'security risk' cases; boards are investigating men's minds and their relatives; secrecy handicaps program; our courts are good because public can see them; urges publicity for security work.

Charles P. Curtis in The Saturday Review

Editor's note: Charles P. Curtis is a well-known Boston attorney and author, World War I veteran, former member of the Harvard Corporation and former special assistant in the State Department. His latest book, "The Oppenheimer Case" (Simon and Schuster) will be published soon.

I have just finished reading a series of brief accounts of 50 cases in our federal personnel security program. They are not, of course, enough to support any final judgment on our security system, but they are enough to give any man pause.

No one knows how many cases of the kind represented in this collection have been decided since the security system spread through the Federal Government more than seven years ago. We do know that some 10,000,000 men and women, one out of six in our working population, are subject to some kind of security test.

If "derogatory information" relating to the present or past activities of the individual himself, or some friend or relative, turns up in the file he may be suspended from his job and required to prove to a security board that his continued employment is "clearly consistent with the national security."

Let me say at once, to begin with, that the people who are administering our security system have not had the benefit of being watched.

Secrecy and Complacency

There are some things our public officials do best in secret, some few things. Passing judgment on their fellow citizens is not one of them.



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DATE 7-31-89 BY 88857

A good half of the reasons why our judicial system is admirable is that we are watching it. We can come and go, in and out of its courtrooms, and we watch our judges from the jury box. Our security system suffers under the handicap of secrecy and isolation.

If an employee is disloyal the sooner the Government gets rid of him the better, but it is as easy to be sanctimonious about loyalty as it is about heresy, and security in fact has a way of turning into a sense of security, or even into complacency. Let's see just what sorts of charges were made in these 50 cases. They fall into four lots.

One lot is the charge that the employee has been, no matter when or how long ago it was, a Communist. There were only five, possibly six, cases in these fifty where it was charged that the employee had ever been a member of the party; and in four of them the employee was cleared.

'Associated With Your Father'

We've pretty well got rid of ex-Communists as well as current Communists now that the Government has persuaded itself that membership in the Communist party is a chronic and incurable disease. But a card-carrying Communist has become too rare a dish to content us.

A second lot of cases rests on the charge that the employee has been a member of a subversive organization, that is, one of those listed as such by the Attorney General, or by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, or by the California Committee on Un-American Activities.

Three of these cases struck me particularly, but perhaps only because I am a lawyer. For in these three cases the subversive organization was the International Workers Order, and the Su-

preme Court had held that the act of the Attorney General in so listing it was "arbitrary and unauthorized."

A third lot is the well-known matter of associations. "Sympathetic associations" is the usual phrase. I was startled by the inclusion of an employee's family in this category of derogatory associations. It was logical, and the more logical the more ruthless.

In one case a typist in the Signal Corps was charged with being a security risk solely on account of his association with his parents. "You are closely associated with your father, who reported-ly."

He was cleared, but the course of the hearing led the board's attorney into an inquiry about the dates the man had made with Japanese girls during the Korean War, where he had won the Bronze Star, about his reading habits, what he thought of the Marshall Plan, the Truman doctrine, tidelands oil, and the Army-McCarthy hearings.

Searching a Man's Future?

Finally, of course, there are all the things a man has said, as reported by people who claim to have heard them. You can't say they are not relevant, assuming they were in fact said, to what he might do in the future, but some of the boards go beyond speculation.

One chairman said, "The basis for the security program as it is set up is not to determine whether he is or might be disloyal, but whether there is any doubt as to his loyalty under any foreseeable circumstances."

One charge against a postal clerk was this: "In 1950 Communist literature was observed in the bookshelves and Communist art was seen on the walls of your residence." Yes, he owned the Modern Library edition of "Das Kapital," and there were reproductions of Picasso, Matisse, Renoir and Modigliani in the sitting room.

We have, I think, a deep feeling that this is wrong, but we are inquiring into what a man or a woman might do in the future, and not simply into what they did do in the past. How can we help judge the individual as well as what he has done? But if we are going to pass judgment on the individual, he is laid on his back on a couch, not standing in the dock. And everything is relevant.

The Assumption of Guilt

Again and again the employee asks who it is that says these things about him, things he can't remember, things he knows are not true, and yet cannot refute or explain, but only deny. He is bitterly aware how ineffective a general denial always is, however vehement, against a specific and particular assertion, however false.

It seems to me that this assumption of the guilt of the employee is the root of the evil in our security system.

A tribunal, making an inquiry, as well as when judging a case, is helped and not hampered by fair dealing. Due process of law is not required of our courts simply for the sake of litigants, nor simply out of compassion for those charged with crime. Due process of law, and here a fair treatment of government employees, is a good way to get to the truth of the matter.

Open the hearings, so far as the classified material will permit, to the public. Drop the pretense that the secrecy is for the protection of the employee who is being investigated. Tell the boards that we want their reasons as well as their conclusions.

After all, what is needed is no more than the yeast of a little courage to raise the good bread of common sense. And that we never forget what Benjamin Franklin wrote long ago: "The way to be safe is never to be secure."

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: October 27, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
OCTOBER 27, 1955

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
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Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Fulton Lewis, Jr., devoted about nine minutes of his program to the Fund for the Republic. Following the resignation of H. Dean from the Fund, he stated today saw the resignation of [redacted] of the Arkansas Gazette, at Little Rock. The reason [redacted] gave for his resignation was that it would be impossible to maintain the affiliation with the Fund as long as he is working for Adlai Stevenson on the latter's preliminary political campaign.

Lewis said his office in Washington advised him of the receipt of one dollar in request for a copy of the printed transcripts of Lewis's radio talks concerning the Fund and this request was signed by "Fund for the Republic, [redacted]." He stated [redacted] does not appear on any Fund letterheads but that this one dollar he is going to frame.

Lewis then began talking about a project at the University of Minnesota, which he called incredible, and which he said he stumbled upon while in that area on a speaking engagement. He said his original information came from [redacted] who edits and publishes the newspaper "Northwest Industrial News." According to Lewis, [redacted] himself investigated the project and contacted a faculty member, who advised him that the project was sponsored by the funds from the Ford Foundation. [redacted] then published an article on it entitled "Who Are the Lunatics?" Lewis said he himself contacted the faculty member, who admitted that the school had received funds from the Ford Foundation, but they were not being used on this particular project. Subsequently, however, Lewis obtained a letter from the Board of Regents of the University stating categorically that the project is being financed by funds from the Ford Foundation.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY 228513108

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Nichols

Fund for the Republic, File 100-391697

RECORDED - 72

INDEXED - 72

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8 NOV 9 1955

LJH:jh

(7)

71 NOV 17 1955

This project at the University of Minnesota is not one of jury-tapping like in Kansas, but rather is a sort of collective brain-washing, which [redacted] called it in his article. The University has what is called "A Laboratory for Research of Social Relations." This project comprised a questionnaire in the form of a pamphlet 28 pages long. The first five pages being questions about the individual being questioned, including age, marital status; religious preference, how often do you attend church - very often, often, fairly often, not very often, never or don't know. It then asks questions on public affairs and also questions concerning national leaders who included Nixon, Stevenson, McCarthy, Jenner, Henry Wallace, Warren, Kefauver, Knowland, Eisenhower. The person being questioned was asked to check whether he opposed, favored, strongly favored or had no opinion concerning these individuals. Other questions concerning these men were: which would you rather see become President in 1956; which has done the most for his country; which stands the best chance of being recorded in history; which would you rank with Lincoln and Washington in service to his country; and also ask/s would you work for your favorite if he were nominated by a major party or if he were nominated by a third party. b6 b7C

Another question asks views of current topics such as: communist party to be illegal, tariff reductions, income tax reductions, should the minimum wage law be increased to \$1.25 per hour, is the supreme courts desegregation in the schools ~~in your~~ opinion a good one, are military expenditures high enough or too high, coexistence with Soviet Russia, should Red China be given Quemoy and Matsu.

Then on page 7 begins the main body of the questionnaire. There are 21 pages of questions and with each one there is the letter "a" and the letter "b" and you are instructed that if you agree with the question or statement circle "a" and if you disagree circle "b". Lewis said that in the many pages the same questions and topics were asked as many as six different times. He read a sample list of some of the questions contained in this section of the questionnaire. Some of the samples he read were as follows:

I get a kick out of fairs and carnivals and circuses.
There can never be real peace in the world as long as the profits system is still in control.
It is all right to get around the law if you don't actually break it.

I do not really like the way some strangers will try to strike up a conversation with a person. Let's face it, the only way to bring peace and order back to the world is to make America the one powerful nation on earth.

I very seldom do things impulsively on the spur of the moment.

On the whole our economic system is just and wise. As long as we have a system of private ownership, we will be in serious danger of losing our freedom.

It is no use worrying my head about public affairs because I cannot do anything about them anyhow.

I prefer the practical man any time to the man of ideas. I think the government should give a person work if he cannot find another job.

I feel I am liked and accepted by most of my neighbors. I sometimes feel like a tiny cog in a huge machine.

We need a strong central government to handle modern economic problems efficiently.

In Congress the best view wins out in the long run. The best kind of politician is one who is just like the rest of us.

There are too many bureaucrats in government.

I believe in the second coming of Christ.

Nowadays more and more people are prying into things that ought to remain personal and private.

You can depend on it that business will charge all the public can.

Lewis said it is interesting to note the explanation he got concerning the project when he contacted the University professor and the explanation another individual gave when she contacted the University for information concerning the project after she received the questionnaire. The explanation of the project, said Lewis, is that this is a project to study the thinking of the so-called conservative classes. The professor admitted to Lewis that this list of recipients of the questionnaires was made up of people who wrote "Letters to the Editor," and showed a conservative view, non-members of favorable groups in Minneapolis and St. Paul and residents of the wealthier section of the city. The professor told Lewis that it was noted that the questionnaires would give the faculty and staff an idea of the intellectual atmosphere of the areas from which these conservative individuals come so that the teaching classes of the university can be modeled to produce better thinking.

Lewis said there was high pressure in distributing these questionnaires in that they were initially sent out by mail and if not answered promptly the recipients were contacted by a personal representative of the project who encouraged them to cooperate. At the end of the questionnaire there was a place for the name and address of the person questioned and there was also a note that it is not absolutely necessary. This concluded Lewis's talk concerning the Fund.

RECOMMENDATION:

None, for information.

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: October 29, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols *LBN*

SUBJECT:

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Handwritten initials: Tolson, Boardman, Nichols, Belmont, Harbo, Mohr, Parsons, Rosen, Tamm, Sizoo, Winterrowd, Tele. Room, Holloman, Gandy.

I am attaching hereto a memorandum prepared by Irving Ferman, the Washington representative of the American Civil Liberties Union. This sets out the reasons why Ferman thinks the Fund for the Republic is violating its tax exempt privileges and sets out Ferman's contacts with William H. Ferry, Vice President.

Enclosure

LBN:gjm

(3)

cc: Mr. Belmont (Encls. 1)

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DATE 7-31-89 BY 058313/afg

REC-39

100-391697-278X

FEB 25 1958

EX-128

ENCLOSURE

EX-128

61 FEB 28 1958

The Fund for the Republic's status rests on Section 501(c)(3) of the 1954 Internal Revenue Code which exempts corporations and other forms of associations from payment of income tax; and, provides likewise deductible status to donors making donations thereto.

The associations organized under this provision must operate exclusively for among other purposes, educational. It must not carry on propaganda or otherwise attempt to influence legislation.

The purpose of this memorandum is not to attempt a definition of the boundaries limiting activity suggested by the statutory language, except to make the observation that judicial decisions indicate that the term "educational" covers more than academic training, but involves good citizenship, and stimulation of discussion of industrial, political and economic questions (7Bd of Tax Appeals 209) (48 Fed 2d 811) (78 Fed 2d 176).

Obviously one of the rationales underlying the provision in Section 501(c)(3) prohibiting propaganda activities, is to prevent the subsidy of political movements under the guise of "educational" foundations. Such propaganda activities have the protection of guarantees embodied in the First Amendment, but it would be contrary to public policy to give a donor special tax privileges in making a grant for propaganda purposes, and likewise contrary to public policy to give the association to whom the grant is made exemption from income tax.

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DATE 7-31-89 BY SP 3 1573/afp

The activities of the Fund for the Republic certainly suggests the possibility that it is engaged in propagandistic activities.

The purpose of this memorandum is to support the observation that the Fund is engaging in propaganda within the meaning of Section 501(c)(3) by relating the following:

- 1) its peculiar selectivity of certain areas of

100-391697-278x

ENCLOSURE

-2-
concern the exclusion of others involved in civil liberties, suggesting a formulated political line;

2) personal experiences with Mr. W. H. Ferry, Vice-President (the day-to-day top operating official) indicating certain motivations and attitudes.

The Fund's selection of areas for its concern, and evidences of its motivation, at least staff-wise, indicate its essential propagandistic base.

Robert H. Hutchins, President of The Fund for the Republic, Inc., sums up the purposes of the Fund in several passages in its newly issued report of activities ending May 31, 1955:

"The Fund for the Republic was established to deal with problems that exist today. It expects to spend its principal as fast as this can be judiciously done. It is not engaged in the support of long-term research. It is not interested in scholarship as such. Nor is it concerned with general education. Its efforts are focused on the immediate issues of civil liberties. When it engages in research, or sponsors it, the Fund is seeking to obtain answers to questions that are pressing now."

"The object of the Fund is to advance understanding of civil liberties. The Board of Directors believes that the rights of Americans should not be compromised or lost through neglect or confusion. It believes that the citizen should know what his rights are and what is happening to them. This is the reason why the Fund has used all the media of communication--radio, television, newspapers, magazines, records, and books--to arouse an interest in civil liberties and to encourage debate about them."

"The Fund for the Republic is a kind of fund for the American Dream. This dream undoubtedly has economic aspects; many people came to this country in the hope of getting rich. But the essence of the dream is and always has been freedom, the escape from tyranny--political, religious, economic, social--into a free country where a man could work out his own destiny in his own way. The Fund for the Republic is dedicated to reminding Americans of this essential quality of the American Dream and to reporting on the state of freedom today."

"The Fund for the Republic takes no position on these matters, beyond affirming its faith in the principles upon which our government is founded, as set forth in the Declaration of Independence

and the Constitution. The Fund does believe, however, that the American people, who must take a position on these matters, should pay attention to them and be adequately informed about them. The object of the Fund is to help supply the requisite information."

What are some "of the problems that exist today," about which the Fund "could advance understanding."

1) All political scholars would agree that the most fundamental problem of our time in the preservation of liberty is the extension of government in meeting social and economic needs by imposing onto the administrative process loosely defined quasi judicial powers. This development in the administrative process has impinged on various rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

The experience prompted the passage of the Administrative Procedure Act. The Act by no means has provided a permanent solution. Yet, there is no suggestion that the Fund considers this area an important function of theirs.

2) Likewise, an area particularly susceptible to foundation treatment is public education on fundamental rights that have application on the local police precinct level, rights pertaining to arrest, prohibition against coerced confessions, requirement for search warrant, etc.

For every alleged abuse of a witness by a congressional committee, there are hundreds of alleged abuses of citizens by police treatment. The Fund, however, does not accept this area within the range of their concern, aside from some reflections in Freedom Agenda, which is cast in a pointed semantic framework.

3) Most social scientists agree that the vital civil liberties problems are not set in a political framework, or indeed in the political turmoil. These problems do not deal with "rights" as such. They are not anatomical. They are physiological. They involve what one social

scientist referred to as the "other directed" nature of the social personality of our day.

In other words, there are problems created mainly by our mass media which develop, both in left and right wing terms a cast personality, anathematic to our free society. A study of this complex problem would involve the application of various disciplines such as social psychology, anthropology etc. Yet the Fund does not consider this area theirs.

These three mentioned areas about which the Fund has displayed no concern can be multiplied by others.

What the Fund has concerned itself with are all highly political. The framework of action adopted by the Board, the language used to describe the action indicates a sense of selectivity which does not suggest that it is an "educational" organization within the meaning of 501(c)(3) dedicated simply to the preservation of civil liberties.

It is submitted that the effort to propagandize, rather than educate, by the Fund is best illustrated by the particular areas it has chosen to deal with as a Foundation. It reflects an identification with certain groups that are being allegedly abused, which in turn reflects an essential propagandistic base of the Fund.

The main purpose of this memorandum is to relate personal experiences with W. H. Ferry, the Fund's Vice-President, which suggests political motivation behind the Fund's activities.

About a year and half ago, Mr. Ferry asked me to see him in New York to discuss the National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

Ferry told me it was his intention to use the Clearing House as a vehicle for the distribution of materials, providing the Clearing House could have its tax status changed to 101 (6) from 101 (8). He asked me my advice.

I informed him that it would be dangerous to have distribution of

any materials flow through Washington, because it would have an inevitable effect in the influencing of legislation. Secondly, I informed him that I thought the Clearing House, despite its posture of having a non-partisan interest in civil liberties, had taken on, by the particular problems it has interested itself in, the political coloration of the ADA and the CIO.

To support this observation, I informed him of my inability to get [redacted] as a speaker before the group. [redacted], Paul Sifton, [redacted], et al, completely "killed" the idea. I said this experience had disillusioned me completely about the Clearing House. b6 b7C

My views virtually shocked Ferry. He became very annoyed. He thoroughly disagreed with me, and indicated that he will make the grant, when the Clearing House gets its new tax status.

Then, I emphasized to Ferry that the Fund should concern itself with the civil liberties problems that were not getting "kicked around" politically. Thereupon, he said, "What makes you think we are not an 'action' organization?" Then, he informed me that he does not consider the Fund's functions to be "research", but "action" in the field of civil liberties.

Interesting to note that the only material in his office, lying on a table, was a set of copies of I. F. Stone's Weekly.

Sometime in November, 1954, I met Ping Ferry, and some other representatives of national organizations, about promoting in the 84th Congress the idea of a public commission to study the problems of internal security (similar to what was later introduced and passed as S. J. Res. 21).

Ping Ferry was opposed to a "public" commission. He said that one could not trust the administration to make proper appointments, that such a commission would be politically stacked. He insisted that a private commission was the proper vehicle.

His attitude in his criticizing the public commission idea was expressive of an absolute lack of faith in the neutrality of institutions, which for a professional civil libertarian was alarming.

This point of view is directly antagonistic to a civil liberties philosophy which must rest its faith in the neutrality of our institutions.

The third occasion spent with Ferry was in August, 1955.

I mentioned to him that I thought one working professionally in the field of civil liberties must manifest in his methods the basic philosophical outlook underlying civil liberties. One must accept all men in good faith, except for an outright subversive. I told him that some of the best men I have met in Washington were people involved in the Congressional committees studying subversive activities.

This annoyed him terribly. He said he could never think that way; that his philosophy was based on what he called the "Ferry law". He based his feelings about an individual solely on what he did.

Again, this is an attitude directly opposed to one devoted to civil liberties. Our whole sense of due process rests on the desire, in so many instances, to understand intent and purpose of actions on the part of individuals -- not to blindly presume guilt.

I then suggested to Ferry that he contact Morris Ernst on free speech problems. I told him that I thought Ernst had done some of the most original and creative thinking in this area. Whereupon, he told me. "I don't trust Ernst. He plays around with Hoover. I don't know what his game is." This comment, of course, reflects the carrying of guilt by association to the ultimate. This by a man who makes grants to study the security program because of its alleged imposition of guilt by association is incredible! It also reflects the cockiness of Ferry in making a remark like that about a man who has devoted a lifetime to the preservation of civil liberties.

Ping Ferry then told me, "I want you to know of three big studies in the making."

He then mentioned the Stanford Study for witnesses in proceedings relative to communism. He told me that the whole "myth" of the communist

conspiracy rested on the testimony of certain witnesses, and he meant to see it explôded by this study.

He then mentioned a study to investigate the American Legion and civil liberties. He told me that his Board has surprisingly approved it.

He then said that he has a study on fire to investigate the FBI, because he didn't think that this was the country we wanted to live in due to the fear engendered by the FBI. I told him that if the study were objective, it should take cognizance of all of the self-denying ordinances the Bureau has imposed on itself in the light of the vast power it does have by virtue of President Roosevelt's Anti-Subversive Order of 1939, and the Truman and Eisenhower Executive Orders. He disagreed with this point of view violently.

He informed me that he would try to get a catholic law school to do this study.

These personal experiences indicate more than anything else an arrogance, an attitude possessed of a priori judgment of the most political nature, which makes of the Fund nothing more than a political organization of the most irresponsible kind.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: November 3, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
NOVEMBER 3, 1955

Tolson	✓
Boardman	✓
Nichols	✓
Belmont	✓
Harbo	✓
Mohr	✓
Parsons	✓
Rosen	✓
Tamm	✓
Sizoo	✓
Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holloman	✓
Gandy	✓

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/31/89 BY 202805108
W C Suggs

On his 7:00 P. M. broadcast, Lewis stated that in pursuit of information concerning the Ford Fund for the Republic project, Bibliography on Communism in the United States, he was successful in interviewing the two who did the original research on the bibliography. These individuals were identified as [redacted], and [redacted] both of whom are members of the District of Columbia Bar.

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b7C

Lewis pointed out that [redacted] is in [redacted] and [redacted] is on temporary duty with [redacted]. According to Lewis, [redacted] indicated they were hired by the staff director of the project shortly after their graduation from Harvard in 1953. They were originally instructed to do a pilot survey to see if there were already in existence some bibliographies on the subject of Communism and to determine how expensive a job it would be to prepare such a bibliography. They later reported to the staff director, "John Doe," who according to Lewis was just out of a mental hospital in California, and [redacted] decided to go on with the project. Some of their work was done at the Library of Congress and some at Harvard. They received no specific instructions and went ahead with their work making cards on every reference to every phase of Communism they could find. They reportedly used no editorial selectivity and turned all of this material over to the staff director. [redacted] do not know what happened to the cards after that, and they have not examined the bibliography in detail. They kept no record of the cards turned in.

b6
b7C

Lewis stated that two other individuals carried the project on from where [redacted] left it and that he would make a check on them. Lewis stated all indications point to the fact that the staff director was responsible for the bibliography in its final form.

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Mr. Young (Room 7631)

Fund for the Republic File (100-391697)

RECORDED - 72
INDEXED - 72

EX-121

100-391697-279
8 NOV 9 1955

GMP:mbk

(8) 7 NOV 17 1955

CRIME PT

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

November 3, 1955

Lewis said that the dangerous thing about this whole thing is the planting of these bibliographies in public libraries throughout the country. He stated that the bibliography is presumably complete and objective, and individuals going to a library have the right to feel that they can trust a bibliography. But the Ford Foundation has stuffed libraries with this slanted bibliography that has all of the information on one side and omitting the important information concerning the other side of the question. He added that the Fund for the Republic people are the ones who talk about the evasion of civil rights, et cetera.

Lewis also mentioned that there was available in printed form for \$1 per copy the complete text of his broadcasts concerning the Fund for the Republic beginning with the first broadcast through that of last Friday, October 28, 1955. He thought it would be a good thing if his booklets were placed on the library shelves along with the Fund for the Republic bibliography.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

[Handwritten marks: a checkmark, a signature, and a crossed-out line]

Director, FBI

November 3, 1955

SAC, San Francisco (100-0)

SECURITY MATTER - X

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY 208573/08

On October 26, 1955, [redacted]

[redacted] (Packer)
advised SA [redacted] that the captioned individual had just been appointed as Research Assistant at the Washington Office of the Fund for the Republic, located at 2449 P Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. [redacted] stated that he knew nothing of the background of [redacted] except that she had apparently received her appointment as a Research Assistant through the efforts of HERBERT L. PACKER, who received an appointment as an Associate Professor of Law, Stanford Law School, effective January 1, 1956, to August 31, 1960. PACKER presently is charged with the direction of the proposed study and analysis of testimony of witnesses in proceedings dealing with Communist activities, which study is being sponsored by the Fund for the Republic of the Ford Foundation.

[redacted] stated that the fact that [redacted] in her position as Research Assistant, was to receive a salary of \$500 per month had aroused his suspicions. He stated that Stanford University had been directed to pay her this salary from the grant from the Fund for the Republic of the Ford Foundation, which had been made to Stanford University. [redacted] indicated that if there would be some conniving or suspicions of the study being made of the testimony of Communist witnesses, that a person in the position of [redacted] might be used. He stated that it was for this reason that he was bringing this appointment to the attention of the FBI.

There is no record of [redacted] in the files of the San Francisco Office.

The above is being furnished for the information of the Bureau and Washington Field for whatever action is deemed advisable.

REGISTERED

FRE/elm
(5)

2 cc Washington Field (Registered)

NOV 21 1955

100-391677-
NOT RECORDED
NOV 21 1955

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: November 4, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
NOVEMBER 4, 1955

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Parbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

G. I. R. - 7

Lewis announced that Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic, would hold a press conference at the Fund's headquarters, 60 East Forty-second Street, New York City, next Monday, (November 7, 1955) at which time he will discuss the program which the Fund has launched since the issuance of their annual report on May 1, 1955. Lewis expressed his desire to personally attend this conference since there were many questions which he would like to direct to Hutchins.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/31/89 BY 2008 BTJ/ag

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Fund for the Republic File (100-391697)

JTM:mbk
(8)

RECORDED - 36

INDEXED - 36

100-391697-280

18 NOV 10 1955

EX-125

66 NOV 17 1955

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 94-4-2187

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: November 14, 1955

FROM : MR. R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

1363

INDEXED - 35

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

The Central Research Section has prepared a monograph concerning the Fund for the Republic setting forth the activities of this Fund and derogatory information available in Bufiles concerning the individuals and organizations connected with it. U

In the preparation of the above-mentioned monograph, personnel in all sections of the Domestic Intelligence Division reviewed Bufiles for derogatory information concerning the individuals and organizations connected with the Fund. The working memoranda used by the Central Research Section in the preparation of their monograph on the Fund are attached hereto. U

RECOMMENDATION:

6383/RT/efw. 4-23-82

It is recommended that the working memoranda used by the Central Research Section in the preparation of the monograph on the Fund for the Republic be placed in the Fund's main file, Bufile 100-391697, for future reference and record purposes. U

Enclosures

PCY:1mm
 (4)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Section Tickler
- 1 - Mr. Young

100-391697 (Orig)

CONFIDENTIAL MATERIAL ATTACHED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8-10-88 BY SP1AG/CLK
 7-31-89 SP8SBJ/CLK

RECORDED - 86

INDEXED - 36

12 NOV-15 1955

Classified by 6049 on 6/12/97
 Exempt from GDS, Category 3
 Date of Declassification Indefinite

11-23-55

13 cards

111 Summary

452

CONFIDENTIAL

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *ash*

FROM : R. R. ROACH *R*

SUBJECT: *B.*
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

DATE: November 16,
1955

Tolson
Board
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winter
Tele. Rm.
Holloman
Gandy

b6
b7C
b7D

The San Francisco Division by letter 11-3-55 advised that according to [redacted] (protect identity), one [redacted] had just been appointed as a Research Assistant at the Washington office of the Fund for the Republic, 2449 P Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. [redacted] stated he knew nothing of the background of [redacted] except that she had apparently received her appointment through the efforts of Herbert L. Packer,* who received an appointment as an Associate Professor of Law, Stanford Law School, effective January 1, 1956, to August 31, 1960. Packer is presently charged with the direction of the proposed study and analysis of testimony of witnesses in proceedings dealing with Communist activities which study is being sponsored by the Fund. [redacted] added that [redacted] as a Research Assistant, was to receive a salary of \$500 per month.

Bufiles reveal no pertinent information identifiable with [redacted]. Our files indicate that one [redacted] was the subject of a Departmental applicant investigation conducted by the Bureau in January, 1954. [redacted] was then being considered for the position of [redacted]. The investigation revealed nothing unfavorable concerning [redacted]. It is not possible to determine whether this individual is identical with the [redacted] now employed with the Fund.

ACTION:

b6
b7C

None. For your information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/31/89 BY 008513/080

REV: saw (5)
100-391697

cc: 105-41823

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. Young

1 - Lia. Sect. Tick.

*Bufiles reflect no investigation or derogatory information regarding Packer.

RECORDED - 6 100-391697-28

20 NOV 17 1955

EX - 124

58 NOV 18 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *Viper*

FROM : L. B. Nichols *LBN*

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

DATE: November 9, 1955

AL Tolson ☒
 Boardman ☒
 Nichols ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Harbo ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Parsons ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Tamm ☒
 Sizoo ☒
 Winterrowd ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Holloman ☒
 Gandy ☒

b6
b7C

NOLAC
 Victor Riesel told me the following incident which had considerable significance to him. A few days ago, called and inquired for a copy of his column on Earl Browder working for the Fund for the Republic, claiming that she was associated with the Fund for the Republic. Riesel does not give out copies of his column as a matter of policy except to his friends. He checked around and found that was the secretary to Daniel Bell, the labor editor of Fortune Magazine who is also in charge of one of the Fund for the Republic projects.

Riesel stated that the significance of this lies in the fact that when people connected with the project call or write letters they say they are calling on behalf of the Fund for the Republic, yet when you call the Fund for the Republic and ask why they hired Browder, the Fund for the Republic insists that Rossiter hired Browder and not the Fund; that there is no doubt in his mind but that the projects are subsidized and operated as part of the Fund for the Republic.

c.c: Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont
 LBN:arm
 (4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 7/31/89 BY 2088 (S) J/28

RECORDED - 36

INDEXED - 36

EX-118

100-391697-283
17 NOV 17 1955

52 NOV 21 1955

TOLSON

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *abm* 11-15-55

FROM : Mr. R. R. Roach *R* 3

SUBJECT: *O* FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
Bufile 100-391697

DATE: 11/9/55 *abm*

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

According to the November 8, 1955, issue of the Washington "Evening Star" newspaper, Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund For The Republic, stated at a news conference the previous day that "the Communist Party is a danger to the United States," but he would still give a Communist a job. Hutchins added, "I wouldn't hesitate to hire a Communist for a job he was qualified to do, provided I was in a position to see that he did it." *u*

During this news conference Hutchins defended the Fund's hiring of Amos Landman, last July, even though he had pleaded the Fifth Amendment when questioned by the Internal Security Subcommittee about Communist Party (CP) membership. According to Hutchins, Landman left the Fund November 1, 1955. When asked if it was not "an affront to the American people" to hire Landman, Hutchins replied: "Not at all. The Fifth Amendment is a part of the Bill of Rights." Hutchins added further that Landman had left the CP in 1939. *u*

Landman, an admitted former CP member in 1937-1938, was the subject of a closed Bureau security investigation. He resorted to the Fifth Amendment when questioned regarding his former CP membership by the Internal Security Subcommittee on June 30, and July 14, 1955. (100-22056; 62-88217-1741, 1737)
* See Addendum, page 2. *u*

RECOMMENDATION:

For your information: A copy of this memorandum will be filed in the running memoranda file for the Fund For the Republic. *u*

Mr. Belmont
Mr. Roach
Liaison Section
Mr. Young

PCY:prh

(5)

NOV 18 1955

RECORDED-11

EX-118
INDEXED-11100-391697-284
20 NOV 17 1955

CRIME REC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/18/80 BY SP5 EIG/OK

for 20, 528/OK

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Memorandum for Mr. Belmont

ADDENDUM:

November 14, 1955

A review of Bufile 100-22056 does not reflect that Landman should be on the Security Index in spite of pleading the Fifth Amendment before Eastland Committee on July 13, 1955. He was placed on the Security Index in 1941 and removed therefrom in 1947. File reflects Landman, a Communist Party member approximately 1938-39, which he has admitted in signed statements to State Department in connection with applications for passport. He states he left Party at time of Russian-German pact and has had no association since. File reflects no Communist Party activity since that time. He has spent considerable time in Communist China and on Formosa. At latter place, he got in trouble with Chinese Nationalist authorities for opposition to Nationalist regime which seems to have been based primarily on his feeling that Formosans were mistreated by Nationalists. Subsequently, in India he was watched closely by State Department which advised he cooperated fully and had no Communist associations. He has stated he took Fifth Amendment to avoid being pressured into becoming informer on persons like himself whom he knew 15 years before. It is to be noted that he made a clean breast of his position to State Department. No further action or investigation seems warranted. u

JB

JB

JB

JB

JJH:pjm
(5)

RECORDED - 33

The Attorney General

November 10, 1955

Director, FBI

100-391697-285

INDEXED-33

EX-126

ARTICLE ENTITLED "HIRING COMMUNISTS"

NOVEMBER 9, 1955, ISSUE

THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS

Attached is an article entitled "Hiring Communists" which appeared in The Washington Daily News on November 9, 1955, which I thought you would like to see.

Enclosure

CC - Mr. William P. Rogers (with copy of enclosure)
Deputy Attorney General

CC - Assistant Attorney General (with copy of enclosure)
William F. Tompkins

TED:nma

(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/31/88 BY 88513/af

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

MAILED 2

NOV 14 1955

COMM-FBI

NOV 21 1955

Mr. Tolson ☒
 Mr. Boardman ☒
 Mr. Nichols ☒
 Mr. Belmont ☒
 Mr. Harbo ☒
 Mr. Mohr ☒
 Mr. Parsons ☒
 Mr. Rosen ☒
 Mr. Tamm ☒
 Mr. Sizoo ☒
 Mr. Winterrowd ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Mr. Holloman ☒
 Miss Gandy ☒

Rosen
Young

HIRING COMMUNISTS

DR. ROBERT HUTCHINS, president of the Fund for the Republic—a \$15,000,000 tax-exempt foundation—is quoted as saying:

"I wouldn't hesitate to hire a communist for a job he was qualified to do, provided I was in a position to see that he did it."

That raises the interesting question: What kind of job is a communist qualified to do? On the record he is amply qual-

fied as a spy and traitor, a liar, a black-mailer and a conspirator to overthrow the Government, besides odd jobs in murder, mayhem and brainwashing.

Whether the Fund for the Republic has use for such characters, or whether Dr. Hutchins merely was generalizing on hiring communists from a "liberal's" point of view, we do not know. He does concede that "the Communist Party is a danger to the United States."

The fine distinction Dr. Hutchins would draw between the Communist Party and an individual communist goes over our head. The stated purpose of this Hutchins-guided Fund is to preserve our Constitution.

Most charitable guess we can make is that Dr. Hutchins merely is striving in these delicate times to carry a little water on both shoulders.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 7/31/89 BY 202853/ab

Send copy to a.g.
4 Rogers

100-391697-

RECORDED 133 NOV 17 1955

EX-126

NOV 17 1955

Wash. Post and Times Herald ☒
 Wash. News ☒
 Wash. Star ☒
 N. Y. Herald Tribune ☒
 N. Y. Mirror ☒
 Daily Worker ☒
 The Worker ☒
 New Leader ☒

Date NOV 10 1955

Let. to A. D.
11-10-55
TED

100-391697

① Ted

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 10/31/55

FROM : L. B. Nichols

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-31-89 BY SP8 BTJ/agz

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

Fulton Lewis informed me that he had received a wire from Professor Clinton Rossiter who is Director of the Study of the Communist Influence on American Life under the Fund for the Republic. The substance of the wire requested Fulton to call Rossiter before he mentioned his name on his program in the future. I told Fulton there could be no harm in calling Rossiter but to listen and not argue with him. DC

Fulton then told me that the bibliography which has been the subject of considerable unfavorable publicity was handled by a group consisting of Professor Charles Fairman, of St. Louis University, [redacted] of DC Georgetown University, and [redacted] you will recall, was the subject of widespread publicity during a lunacy hearing back in 1952. Fulton has been hell bent to use this on the program and I, frankly, have told him it was up to him but I thought he might have adverse effect with it and to leave this rabble-rousing to somebody else.

See me have memo of what we have on these three

Fulton tells me he has been checking on [redacted] He is [redacted] who has been at Georgetown only a year and a half following his graduation from Harvard Law School. He teaches constitutional law at Georgetown and Fulton informed me in the strictest of confidence that certain highly placed individuals intimately connected with Georgetown Law School are very unhappy over [redacted] whom they characterize as arrogant, overbearing and aggressive and who is causing a lot of good people a lot of worry. It is reported that those doing the worrying include [redacted] the Dean of Georgetown, as well as [redacted] the President. Fulton has been counseled to put the matter up to [redacted] which he is going to do when either Bunn returns.

EX-125

RECORDED - 4

INDEXED - 4

100-291697-286

After calling Rossiter, Fulton told me that Rossiter told him that he was very unhappy, very uncomfortable, and was sick and tired of being blamed for the inadequacy of the project of the bibliography and that he would like to make it clear that this was Professor Sutherland's project; that he and [redacted]

cc - Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont

LBN:fc

(40)

10 NOV 16 1955

See me re: [redacted] on him.

71 NOV 30 1955

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Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

10/31/55

merely contributed by advising the Committee who looked over the work; that the work was done by [redacted] of Stanford University. He further stated that Professor Fairman had withdrawn from the Fund for the Republic project and was no longer at St. Louis University. Rossiter further asserted that he had nothing to do with the Sutherland project; that the projects assigned to him were going to be objective; that he was fully cognizant of the fact that the Fund for the Republic had gone to the left but this his projects could not go to the left and that the Fund for the Republic would not exert any control over any of his pending projects. b6 b7C

De Fulton Lewis stated that this all sounded very well but that he knew for a fact that Professor Cushman at Cornell was being told right out by Adam Yarmolinsky what to put in his book, what to emphasize, what to take out and what to build up. Rossiter inquired whether Cushman had any knowledge Yarmolinsky was making such statements. Fulton told him that he had not talked to Cushman and Rossiter suggested that Fulton talk to Cushman. Fulton stated that he saw no need to do this; that Yarmolinsky was the one who was making the statement that he was telling Cushman what to do and what to put in the book; that after all, Yarmolinsky was now the Washington representative of the Fund, was on the payroll and was presumably the authority on numerous matters pertaining to security.

Rossiter assured Lewis that his projects would be objective, would not be tainted with any leftist touch and that he was operating independently. Fulton stated he did not argue with Rossiter but that he did not appreciate being played for a sucker as Rossiter ostensibly made him.

7-4
VEN
Viper

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: November 4, 1955

FROM : A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLICALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY 2080 BTJ/af

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
 Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

SYNOPSIS:

Reference is made to Mr. Nichols' memorandum to Mr. Tolson in the captioned matter dated 10/31/55 on which the Director requested that he be furnished a summary of information on [redacted] Staff Director of the Fund; Professor Charles Fairman, Washington University, St. Louis; [redacted] Law Professor at Georgetown University; and Professor Arthur Sutherland, Harvard Law School, all of whom are connected with the Fund and are alleged to have handled the bibliography on Communism prepared by the Fund. The Bureau has conducted no investigation of these individuals. There is no derogatory information in our files concerning Fairman and [redacted]. Our files disclose that in 1948 Sutherland was among 45 teachers who signed a letter assailing procedures of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In February, 1949, Whittaker Chambers claimed that in 1934 he had been replaced as the Communist espionage courier by a girl who has been identified as a one-time secretary for Sutherland in 1928-1931. An announcement was made in January, 1955, that two reference works on Communism being distributed by the Fund were compiled under direction of Professor Sutherland. Sutherland has been very cooperative with our Boston Office in past on-applicant and related matters and our relations with him at all times have been most cordial. In January, 1952, [redacted] then Professor at Stanford University, became mentally ill with violent tendencies and was committed to veterans hospital July, 1952, after sanity hearings with considerable publicity. He was discharged from hospital 3-30-53. He went to Harvard to accept position with Fund in Fall of 1953. Biographical and background details of above four individuals set out in details.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

RECORDED
INDEXED
EX-125

NOV 16 1955

- JGS:saw/djell (8)
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - W. C. Sullivan
1 - P. C. Young
1 - Section tickler
1 - Mr. [redacted]

NOV 28 1955

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Auto stat

Memorandum to Mr. Boardman

DETAILS:

In referenced memorandum Mr. Nichols stated that Fulton Lewis, Jr., told him that the bibliography on Communism prepared by the Fund for the Republic had been handled by [redacted] Fairman [redacted] and the Director wrote: "Let me have memo on what we have on these three." The Director also wrote with respect to Professor Sutherland: "Let me see summary on him."

[redacted] Summary on [redacted]

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The Fund for the Republic's annual report for May, 1955, lists [redacted] Stanford University, among those who are engaged in the study of the Communist Record. The Bureau has conducted no investigation concerning [redacted] but Bufiles do reflect background information concerning him.

Summary
[redacted] was born [redacted] at [redacted]. He received his A.B. degree from Stanford University in 1941 and was in attendance at Harvard Law School during 1941-1942 and 1942-1943. In 1943, he dropped out to accept a commission in the U. S. Navy. He returned to Harvard Law School in early 1946 and was awarded a LL.B. degree, magna cum laude, [redacted]. Subsequently he became affiliated with Stanford University Law School before he returned to Harvard in the Fall of 1953 to accept a position with the Fund for the Republic. (100-391697-29)

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The San Diego Field Office reported on February 12, 1954, that the Fourth California District Court of Appeals had been contacted by [redacted] for the Fund for the Republic and requested to provide information on several specific cases concerning Communism handled by the Court. (San Diego letter to Bureau 100-391697-29)

At the Bureau's request the San Francisco Office on October 6 and 7, 1955, discreetly checked records of the Superior Court, San Mateo County, California, the Veterans Hospital, Palo Alto, California, and the "Morgue" of the "San Francisco Examiner" in order to verify allegations of previous insanity on the part of [redacted]. These records disclose the following:

[redacted] filed a petition for commitment charging [redacted] with being/mentally ill person since

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b7C

Memorandum to Mr. Boardman

January, 1952. The petition described [] condition as having been caused by business pressure and as characterized by inability to rationalize, grandiose ideas, and violent tendencies, including an attempt to set his house on fire. [] he was legally committed to the Veterans Hospital at Palo Alto, California.

b6
b7C

[] demanded a rehearing and a jury trial on the issue of his mental competency. [] an unanimous verdict was returned by the jury finding [] mentally ill and the court ordered him confined to the Veterans Administration Hospital, Palo Alto, on the grounds that his mental condition was such that he was dangerous to himself and the person and property of others and in need of supervision, treatment and restraint.

The Veterans Administration records disclosed that [] mental condition was diagnosed as "schizophrenic reaction, paranoid with manic features, manifested by confusion, vague unsystemized delusions with beginning systemization history of bizarre behavior and assaultiveness and grandiosity." After spending 235 days in the Veterans Hospital, [] was discharged []

b6
b7C

Is he drawing any Veterans's Disability compensation?
Arthur E. Sutherland. *K.*

Summary

The Bureau has conducted no investigation of Sutherland, who was born February 9, 1902, Rochester, New York, and has been employed as Professor of Law, Harvard University, since 1950. In April, 1948, Sutherland was among 45 teachers who signed a letter assailing the procedures of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). In February, 1949, Whittaker Chambers claimed that in late 1934 he was replaced as a Communist espionage courier by a girl identified by subsequent Bureau investigation as Thelma Oster, a former secretary to Sutherland, 1928-1931. In February, 1953, Sutherland was head of a committee at Harvard University for advising faculty members subpoenaed by the HCUA. This committee in March, 1953, advised two Harvard Communist students to cooperate with the HCUA. In May, 1953, Sutherland requested an FBI interview for clarification purposes of Mr. and Mrs. Roman Jakobson, Harvard faculty members scheduled for HCUA hearings on May 26, 1953, which hearings were canceled. (121-38346-30; 123-14973-1; 100-391697-35)

On January 10, 1955, the "Washington Post and Times-Herald" announced that the Fund for the Republic was distributing two reference works on Communism in the United States entitled "Bibliography on the

What has become of her?

Memorandum to Mr. Boardman

Communist Problem in the United States" and "Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States." These books were compiled under the direction of Professor Arthur E. Sutherland, Harvard Law School. (100-391697-59)

On March 17, 1954, the Boston Office advised that Professor Sutherland wished to know whether the Bureau could make available certain specifically requested material in connection with a project of the Fund for the Republic. The Boston Office noted that Sutherland had had most cordial relations in the past with the Boston Office and that he had been very cooperative on applicant and related investigations. The Director concurred in the recommendation of the Domestic Intelligence Division that no deviation in existing Bureau practice was desirable in this instance. The Director also stated: "While Sutherland may be all right and sound, I have grave doubts as to the final outcome of the report since it would have to be cleared by the Ford Foundation." On April 13, 1954, an Agent of the Boston Office explained the Bureau's policy to Sutherland who was extremely cordial during the interview and who said that he understood the Bureau's position very well. (100-391697-35)

Summary

The Fund for the Republic's annual report of [redacted] lists [redacted] Professor of Law, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C., among those who are engaged in the Study of the Communist Record. The Bureau has conducted no investigation concerning [redacted]

On June 16, 1943; [redacted] who was at that time with [redacted] in Washington, D. C., appeared at the Bureau and advised that he was planning an advanced seminar in French and German for his students who were primarily interested in military work and Government service. He requested suggestions as to the type of instruction which would best qualify students for work as translators in the Bureau and was furnished some information along those lines. (94-1-783-294)

Summary

On July 11, 1954, [redacted] participated with Senator Homer Ferguson and Attorney [redacted] in a discussion of the subject "Wire Tapping--Liberty of Individuals and

Memorandum to Mr. Boardman

of Security" on the Georgetown University Forum over Television Station WTTG. During the discussion [] expressed the opinion that any legislation should consider the right of the individual's liberty as well as the right of the Government to protect itself against the enemy. In discussing the Keating Bill, which Senator Ferguson said would allow evidence obtained prior to the passing of the bill and would require a judge's permission for the tapping of wires in the future, [] pointed out that the Senate was going to bypass the requirement of a judge's permission and allow the Attorney General to authorize wire tapping. He also expressed concern that if the Attorney General kept his authorization for wire tapping to security matters it was logical that a person's telephone could be tapped to see if he were a Communist. [] stated that he hoped that any wire tapping bill would contain a reasonable cause provision. (Memo from M. A. Jones to Mr. Nichols, 7/12/54, 62-12114-2844)

b6
b7C

Charles Fairman: Summary

The Bureau has conducted no investigation of Fairman and there is no derogatory information concerning him in the Bureau's files. Fairman was born in Alton, Illinois, July 27, 1897. He was a Professor at Stanford University from 1938 to 1953 and has been a Professor of Constitutional Law, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, since 1953. The Fund for the Republic's annual report of May, 1955, lists Fairman as among those who are engaged in the Study of the Communist Record.

Director, FBI

11/5/55

SAC, Milwaukee (100-12854)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY 0867Jap

THE FREEDOM FORUM
IS - C

0 Fund For The Republic

Remylets 9/13/55 and 10/27/55.

On 11/2/55 [redacted]

[redacted] appeared at the Milwaukee FBI Office to report that he had made arrangements to deliver to [redacted] of the Milwaukee Sentinel, the material he has collected about the Freedom Forum, Aka, Freedom Agenda, and the Forum's program in Kenosha, Wisconsin.

[redacted] said the Milwaukee Sentinel was planning to run a series of articles on the pro-Communist connections of various authors mentioned favorably in the annotated bibliographies of at least two of the Forum's pamphlets, respectively "Freedom Agenda" and "The Bill of Rights and Our Individual Liberties". The Sentinel, he said, would use his material.

He identified his material as photostatic copies of various issues of the Daily Worker and the Daily Peoples World and photostatic copies of testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee, as furnished to him by [redacted] to Senator JOSEPH MC CARTHY. The material was concerned with such authors (recommended by the Freedom Agenda Committee) as [redacted], HENRY STEELE COMAGER, THOMAS I. EMERSON, WALTER F. GELLHORN, ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN and HOWARD MUMFORD JONES. It showed their connections with various Communist front organizations.

[redacted] material, which evidently will be heavily relied on by the Sentinel in its coming series, apparently contains no information which the Bureau, via published accounts or via HCUA hearings, has not already had available to it for a long time.

Any further information in this matter will be promptly relayed to the Bureau.

REGISTERED MAIL

GVH:lk
(3)

100-39417-
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23

Nov 5 1955

71 NOV 28 1955

4-22 (6-15-55)

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Section

2 NOV 1955

1955

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Room 7637

☒ All References
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☐ Exact Spelling
☐ Check for Alphabetical Loyalty Form

SUBJECT ARTHUR EUGENE

Address SWTHERLAND

Localities WTD from JAN 55

Birthdate & Place _____
R# _____ Date 11-2 Searcher Initial 1204
FILE NUMBER SERIAL

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>121-38346-30</u> <u>(Announcement 9-15-53)</u> <u>Arthur E.</u>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>100-391697-59, 72</u> <u>NR</u> <u>65-62617-58</u> <u>Arthur</u> <u>NR</u> <u>Art (now)</u>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>100-356750-28, P.2</u> <u>A. Eugene</u> <u>NR</u> <u>A. E.</u> <u>NR</u> <u>Eugene</u>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>100-414550-4</u>

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DATE 7/31/89 BY 251/08

Prepared by 2166 [unclear] U. [unclear] 2 PM.

4-22 (6-15-55)

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Section

2 NOV 1955, 1955

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SUBJECT

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FILE NUMBER SERIAL

1	Author of: <u>Rebelsions in On</u> <u>The Communist Problem</u> <u>In The United States</u> <u>(Published 1955)</u> <u>See: Bureau Library</u>
	Author of: <u>Descent of The</u> <u>Public Record of Communism</u> <u>In The United States</u> <u>(Published 1955)</u> <u>See: Bureau Library</u>
	<u>62-102644</u>
	<u>NR</u>
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Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Section

6 NOV 1955

1955

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SUBJECT Charles Fairman

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UTD from Aug 55
Localities Prague St. Louis U.
Birthdate & Place 0 6

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N.R.	31-42649
	mis. (James S. Moore)
NR	31-42649
	Charles H. (Burd)
	94-4 sub 437
	Charles Maxwell (Burd)
N.R.	25-134649
	C.
	N.R.

Reviewed by SA 11-2-55
NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

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Supervisor

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all ref serial from 8-25-55

100-391697-218

1.1.R-7

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 7 1955

TELETYPE

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

11-7-55

3-27PM

DIRECTOR, FBI

ATTENTION LIAISON SECTION

URGENT

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, RE BUTEL DATED ELEVEN

SEVEN FIFTY FIVE.

ASSISTANT CHIEF, ADMINISTRATIVE

DIVISION, VETERANS ADMINISTRATION, SAN FRANCISCO, ADVISED THIS DATE

CORKER NOT RECEIVING ANY DISABILITY COMPENSATION.

WHELAN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/31/89 BY SP8 [signature]

END AND ACK

6-28 PM OK FBI WA JEP

Mr. Belmont

EX-125

18 NOV 16 1955

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Sizoo _____
Mr. Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

AML/S

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-102644

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE November 8, 1955

FROM : A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLICALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY SP8 BTJ/agf

Tolson	
Boardman	
Nichols	
Belmont	
Harbo	
Mohr	
Parsons	
Rosen	
Tamm	
Sizoo	
Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Holloman	
Gandy	

My memorandum to you 11/4/55, in captioned matter, set out information concerning [redacted] and Arthur E. Sutherland who are connected with the Fund. [redacted] was committed to a Veterans Hospital [redacted] for mental illness and the Director asked if he is drawing any Veterans disability compensation. San Francisco Office determined on [redacted] from Veterans Administration Regional Office, San Francisco, that [redacted] is not receiving any disability compensation.

Sutherland employed one Thelma Oster as Legal Secretary 1928-31. In 1949 Whittaker Chambers claimed that in 1934 he had been replaced as espionage courier by a girl subsequently identified by Bureau investigation as the above Thelma Oster. The Director asked: "What has become of her?" Bureau conducted extensive investigation of Oster on basis of Chambers' allegation. Chambers unable to identify photograph of Oster and no other indications of espionage activity developed. Security Matter - C investigation of Oster in 1944-48 had disclosed that she had been leading member of Communist Party in Washington, D. C., 1943-46 while employed at CIO National Headquarters. No later subversive activities of significance developed. Oster was completely uncooperative when Bureau Agents attempted to interview her in January, 1954, when she was an unemployed housewife residing Brooklyn, New York. Criminal Division has reviewed case on Oster and on 3/16/54 advised evidence did not warrant bringing Oster before Grand Jury and case closed. (101-2970)

ACTION:

For information.

JGS:lw
(8)

- 1-Mr. Boardman
- 1-Mr. Belmont
- 1-Mr. Branigan
- 1-Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1-Mr. J. G. Short
- 1-101-2970

1-Liaison Section Tickler

63 NOV 28 1955

RECORDED - 4

100-391697-289

NOV 16 1955

Is she on our Security Index List?

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 101-2970

Director in Oster case
11/10/55
JGS

63
101-2970

100-391697 290

RECORDED - 1
INDEXED - 1

November 10, 1955

EX-122

b6
b7C

File
JW B. Nichols
Gooding

The New York World-Telegram and Sun
New York 15, New York
FREDERICK F. W. T. H. M. A. N.
Dear Fred:

Thanks a lot for your letter of November 8, 1955, with clippings. I thought your stories were most interesting and well written. Your analysis of Hutchins was really a classic.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely,

L. B. Nichols

LBN:fc
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/31/89 BY 2038 573/28

- Tolson _____
- Boardman _____
- Nichols *✓*
- Belmont *✓*
- Harbo _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Sizoo _____
- Winterrowd _____
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- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

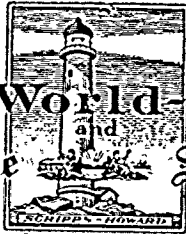
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File

100-391697

Rock 58 NOV 25 1955

New York World-Telegram
The Sun



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New York 15, N.Y.

Nov. 8, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/31/89 BY 05805 JSP

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Fund for the Republic

Dear

Engel
Thought you'd want to see the attached. My bibliography story, as you may have seen, got a pretty wide pick-up.

The Hutchins interview was a dilly, although he's a tough guy to deal with because he's suave, glib and, to my mind, completely unscrupulous intellectually. I did back him into the position where he'd hire a CP member as well as a Fifth Amendment person; and once there, he stuck stubbornly to it. He permits no deviation from his own omniscience.

no loc.
In Hutchins' absence from the Fund, which is a great deal of the time, the guy who runs the show is W. H. (Ping) Ferry, the vice-president, who handled publicity for CIO-PAC when the Communists were in the saddle. So far that's all I've been able to find about Ferry but I'm in the market for any usable stuff. Apparently he's a behind-the-scenes operator and not given to joining or committing himself in writing or the like.

INDEXED
RECORDED

Best, 100 - 391697 - 290

100-391697

7 NOV 17 1955

Cordially

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EX-122

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

ack- 11/16/55

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/31/89 BY SP8 BTJ/af

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM AND SUN

Hutchins 'Wouldn't Hesitate' to Hire Reds

N.J.

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By FREDERICK WOLTMAN,
Staff Writer.

Although the Fund for the Republic has invested half a million dollars to study Communist activities in America, Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, its president, "would not hesitate" to hire a present member of the Communist party to work for the fund.

The only requirement would be that the Communist is, in the judgment of Dr. Hutchins, "qualified" for the job.

The same goes for anyone who pleads the Fifth Amendment to escape answering questions about his Communist activities in a government inquiry. That, too, would make no difference.

Sees No Conflict.

The former president of the University of Chicago held stoutly to that position in a battering, two-hour press conference yesterday at the fund's office, 60 E. 42nd St. The fund was set up with a \$15 million grant of the Ford Foundation to study civil liberties.

At the same time, Dr. Hutchins insisted that he regards the Communist party as "identified with the enemy" and a "danger" to this country.

Yet active membership in such an organization, he maintained, should be no bar to employment by the fund. He plainly saw no conflict in these two viewpoints.

Defends Hiring.

In addition, Dr. Hutchins staunchly defended his hiring of Amos Landman as a press agent for the fund three weeks after the latter repeatedly resorted to the Fifth Amendment before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee last June.

Indeed, the fund head went further. He volunteered a clean bill of health for Mr. Landman although the latter at least a dozen times refused to tell the subcommittee if he was ever a member of the party.

"He left the Communist party in 1939," Dr. Hutchins declared.

"Evidently Landman talked more freely to you than to the Congressional Committee," a reporter remarked. He got no reply.

Made No Checkup.

Asked if he had ever checked independently, Dr. Hutchins answered, "I took his word for it."

He was asked if there was an affirmative evidence that Mr. Landman did break with the party. Here W. H. Ferry, the fund's vice president, who sat at his right hand, interjected "he submitted documents that satisfied us." He refused, however, to describe them.

"I asked why he had taken the Fifth Amendment," Dr. Hutchins said, "and he fully informed me." Later he explained that, otherwise, Mr.

Landman "would have been obliged to turn informer."

The fund has laid out a grant of \$25,000 for a study of government witnesses in Communist cases. The Communists derisively refer to them as "informers." The fund itself has distributed 25,000 pamphlets entitled "Faceless Informers and Our Schools."

He hired Mr. Landman as a publicity man for the fund, Dr. Hutchins declared, "so he could have a job while looking for employment." It was on a temporary, part-time basis, from July 28 to Nov. 1, he added.

Not long after the Landman appointment had leaked out and been publicized, Arthur H. Dean, a Wall St. lawyer, re-

signed as a director of the fund for "policy reasons."

Dr. Hutchins declined to give the reasons or even to express an opinion as to whether the Dean resignation was good or bad for the Fund for the Republic.

Defense of Silence.

The fund, a reporter pointed out, has distributed 35,000 copies of a book, "The Fifth Amendment Today," by Erwin N. Griswold, a defense of those who seek the protection of the amendment when questioned about Communist affiliations.

At the same time, it was brought out, the fund distributed only 1000 copies of a reply to the book by C. Dickerman Williams, "The Fifth

Amendment, Its Uses and Abuses."

Dr. Hutchins explained the disparity as "a matter of judgment."

"Stimulated Discussion."

"Is your point of view more prone to Griswold's than to Williams'?" he was asked.

"I suppose it is but I don't regard my point of view as of any importance," the fund president replied.

Asked about the accomplishments of the fund to date, he said it had stimulated discussion of civil liberties and problems of race relations; and studies sponsored by the fund have "contributed to an understanding of the methods employed to combat communism."

100-39/697-290

1 AND SUN, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1935

5

INTERNATIONAL GRAND TOUR

IN THE WORLD'S LARGEST STORE

Macy's

IT'S SMART TO BE THRIFTY

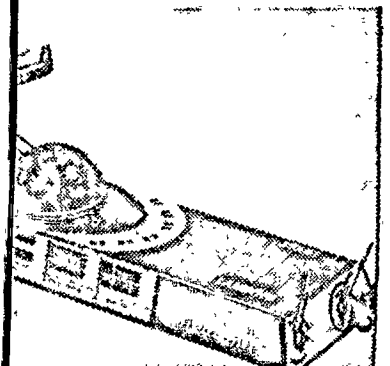
ready for Christmas

best import values we've ever had



Pinocchio 15"
Hand-rubbed and polished wood. Comes with extra wooden nose.

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Helicopter
will fly around metal base, at any point by lever con-

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DATE 7/31/89 BY 2083 BJA/8
NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM AND SUN, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1955

Experts Hit Ford Fund Red Guide

Blast Omission Of Many Books Against Soviet

By FREDERICK WOLTMAN,
Staff Writer.

The Fund for the Republic's first completed project, an ambitious "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States," has laid an egg among at least one group of authorities on the subject.

Since January the Fund, which is financed by the Ford Foundation, distributed the elaborate 475-page volume to 1200 libraries, educational institutions and government agencies. It was to serve as the definitive guide for future scholars and research workers.

Instead, it has been receiving brickbats from present scholars and experts in the field.

They contend not that its sponsors are in any way sympathetic to communism, but that the bibliography was so ineptly done as to omit a vast collection of some of the most effective anti-Communist books, articles and other writings in the American scene.

Professor Protests.

"You deserve a vote of thanks from the Communist party," protested one scholar. "For non-Communists, it is an outrageous performance." He is Philip Taft, professor of economics at Brown University, a leading authority on labor history and communism in trade unions.

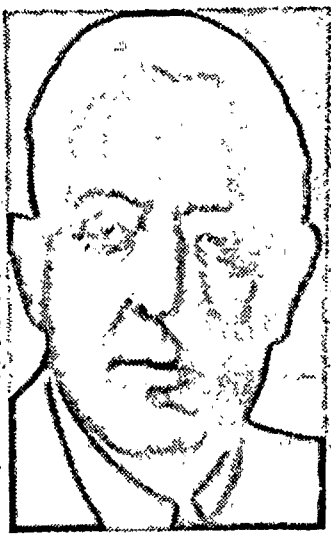
"It would be difficult to imagine a work of scholarship at once more important and more badly done," wrote another in a scathing review that appears in the current issue of the "New Leader," middle-of-the-road anti-Communist weekly.

The author of the review, John A. Sessions, Ph. D., is himself now working on another Fund for the Republic project, a study of Communist fronts. A former professor at Cornell and Michigan universities, Dr. Sessions is assistant director of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Training Institute.

Instead of directing future research workers to "the most significant available materials," he wrote, the Fund's bibliography could only have the opposite effect of directing them "away from some of the most telling indictments of Communist methods."

Charge by Farrell.

Another vigorous protest was sent to the bibliography project by James T. Farrell, the novel-



PAUL G. HOFFMAN.

ist and chairman of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom. He charged the writers with "inexcusable sloppiness" in compiling the more than 5000 entries in the volume.

Strong dissatisfaction over the job, it was learned, also was expressed privately within another project of the Fund itself, an extensive \$300,000 study of "Communist Influence in American Life."

As a result of the accumulated criticisms, it was indicated, an independent revision of the bibliography will be made by this new project, which includes some outstanding anti-Communist writers.

The new project's director, Clinton Rossiter, government professor at Cornell, today told the World-Telegram and Sun: "I am taking full responsibility for a revision and expansion to correct some of these mistakes."

Although published and distributed by the Fund for the Republic, a spokesman said today, "the bibliography was prepared independently of the Fund. We had absolutely nothing to do with its contents and never touched the manuscript."

Lifetime Republican.

A committee of eminent professors was in charge of the bibliography project. Its chairman, Arthur E. Sutherland, law professor at Harvard, is a legal scholar of high repute and a lifetime Republican with an unassailable record of anti-communism. An Army colonel during the war, he served as aid-de-camp to Gen. Mark W. Clark while the latter commanded the 5th Army.

Prof. Sutherland told this newspaper today his reasons for agreeing to head the project: "I felt the cardinal political fact of our time is

the hostility of Russia to the United States and its use of the Communist party in America as a tool to affect our foreign policy. I felt scholars had neglected this field entirely.

"We found the literature was colossal. With the thousands and thousands of items in existence, we realized a complete bibliography was impossible. We tried to make it as reasonable a collection as possible.

"There was nothing like this in existence and it was very difficult to say what ought to be kept in and what left out. If we hadn't expected to be shot at for whatever we did, we'd never have undertaken it."

He was "delighted," Prof. Sutherland added, if the bibliography is to be used as "the basis for further study."

Hundreds of Entries.

As it stands, the bibliography contains hundreds, perhaps thousands, of anti-Communist entries. In his New Leader review, however, Dr. Sessions maintained "the compilers . . . consistently omitted the more important works of many of the very writers who have done most to illuminate the Communist problem."

Among them he cited Arthur Koestler, prolific writer on communism, who is represented by a single newspaper article. "The editors," observed Dr. Sessions, "seem unaware that Mr. Koestler has written books."

"Judging from this bibliography," he went on, "Bertram Wolfe must have died in the mid-1930s, since there are several written by Wolfe when he was a Communist but none by this prolific writer since 1934."

There is no mention of Angelica Balabanoff, first secretary of the Communist International, "whose autobiography is one of the most illuminating accounts we have of the internal operation of the Comintern."

Single Farrell Entry.

Among "the most astonishing items," he wrote, was a single entry by Mr. Farrell against Trotskyism, although the novelist's other writings "accelerated the crumbling of the Communist literary front."

A "series of significant documents" published on communism by the American Federation of Labor for several years were ignored, according to Dr. Sessions, and only "a collection of trivia" was included.

Among writers "either inadequately represented or altogether ignored" he listed Dwight Macdonald, Max Eastman, Liston Oak, Norman

Background of Fund for Republic

The Ford Foundation, which set up the Fund for the Republic in 1952, was created by the Ford family in the 1950s and owns 90 percent of the non-voting stock of the Ford Motor Co. To date it has spent \$211 million. Its chairman is Henry Ford II.

The Fund for the Republic, which operates independently, received \$15 million from the Foundation. Its chairman is Paul G. Hoffman, chairman of Studebaker-Packard, and its president is Robert M. Hutchins, former president of the University of Chicago.

Thomas, William Henry Chamberlain, James Rorty, Joseph Wood Krutch and David Dalin.

"If the Fund for the Republic," wrote Dr. Sessions in the New Leader, "seriously wishes to defend itself against such attacks as have been leveled against it by Fulton Lewis and the American Legion, it must do something to make amends for this bibliography."

"The job has been so badly done that nothing remains but to do it over again."

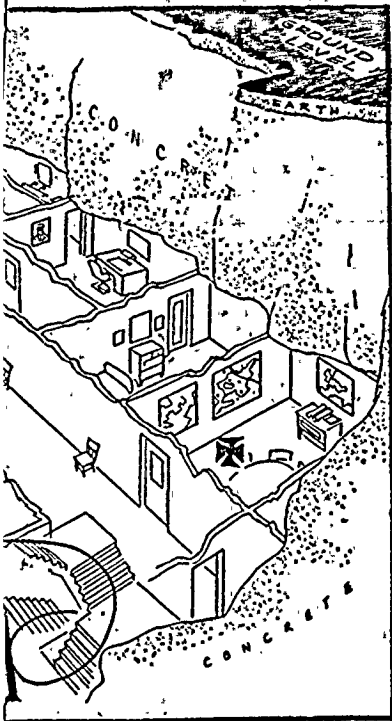
Ensign Killed in Crash

By the Associated Press.

PENSACOLA, Oct. 28.—A Navy ensign was killed yesterday when his parachute failed to open after he bailed out of an airplane which had collided with another plane.

save
at DA

in Death Fails



s bunker deep underground where
ys. Maltese cross marks his head-
Heinz Linge, found him dead.

ant to where they probably lie to this
day.

But I do not know. And I
dare not return to eastern Ber-
lin to the place where I last
saw Hitler.

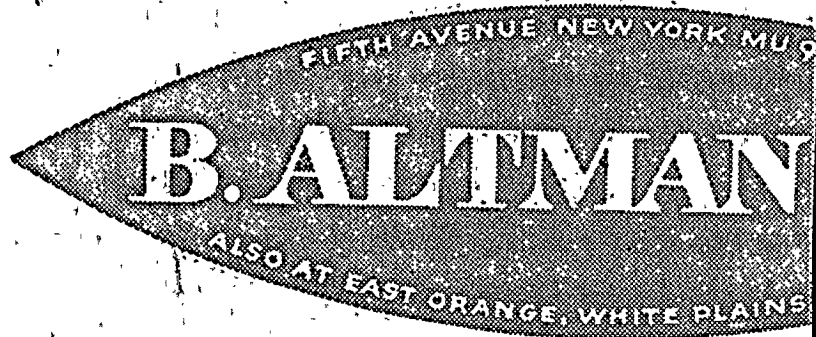
I have been as near to it as
I can. I have stood on the ex-
treme edge of the Western
Zone looking through the
Brandenburg gate up the Unter
den Linden in the direction of
the chancellery. All I could see
were the ruins.

**NEXT: Hitler's relationship
with Eva Braun.**

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Distributed by United Feature Syndi-
cate, Inc.)

R. E. Broome Heads G

Robert E. Broome, vice presi-
dent of the Guaranty Trust Co.
of New York, has been named
chairman of the commercial
banks division of the United
Hospital Fund's 76th annual
fund-raising campaign. It was
announced today by Raymond
C. Johnson, chairman of the
fund's professional, financial
and insurance group. Mr.
Broome headed the division
cellery last year.



our own Balta®
beauty in black

16.95



... the deep-V pump,

Lorraine, in suede or calf with tiny

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Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: November 9, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY 00812731afSUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
7:00 PM, WWDC
NOVEMBER 9, 1955

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his broadcast on November 9, 1955, made reference to comments which he had made previously on September 5, 1955, in which he stated that organizations, such as the Fund For the Republic, claiming tax exemption were required to file statements of justification with the Internal Revenue Service. Lewis indicated that at that time he had stated that he felt that keeping these statements of justification confidential was not in the public interest, as citizens should have access to this information.

Lewis added that Under Secretary of the Treasury H. Chapman Rose had told a Congressional Committee that Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey felt the same; namely, that the public should have access to this data. According to Lewis, Rose indicated that legislation to this effect would be requested of the Congress. Lewis stated he was glad to announce that, after delays, the books containing his broadcasts on the Fund For the Republic, would be mailed out this week end. He added that through a public benefactor a copy is being sent to each of 7,500 public libraries in the country.

Lewis also mentioned that the FBI had stopped the investigation of the recent crash of the United Airlines plane in Colorado, apparently convinced that it involved an act of malice. The Agents in charge, he said, admitted having very little to go on and that the problem of finding the criminal was certainly going to be a tough one, involving one of the most extensive and complicated man-hunts in history. The investigative organization will have to trace down thousands of possible leads inasmuch as every person who came in contact with the plane who could have carried the bomb aboard will have to be investigated. This would include passengers, the crew, mechanics, etc. Lewis added, however, that you could be assured that the culprit would be found.

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information.

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Fund For the Republic File 100-391697

FCS:nl

66 NOV 15 1955

38

NOV 15 1955

INSEC

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-391697-1

Mr. Nichols

November 8,
1955

M. A. Jones

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
FULTON L. LEWIS, JR.
NOVEMBER 8, 1955

21765

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-82 BY 22807J/ag

Mr. Lewis had this to say about Robert Maynard Hutchins
and the Fund for the Republic tonight:

"The New York Journal American in another page one story
coast to coast by [redacted] and [redacted] gives the boy wonder,
Robert Maynard Hutchins, the documentations on the individuals he
specified yesterday in his two-hour marathon press conference in
New York and gives that documentation in detail. The matter arose
yesterday when Mr. Hutchins was asked about yesterday's story in
the Hearst newspapers that no less than 21 persons with Communist
Party affiliations had been identified on the Board of Directors of
the Southern Regional Council to which the Fund for the Republic --
Mr. Hutchins \$15,000,000 propaganda fund from the Ford Foundation --
has given nearly \$400,000; \$150,000 being announced as late as
yesterday. Mr. Hutchins said the Fund is not interested and will
not investigate the background of these individuals. Hutchins said
the story about them was inaccurate and perfidious. The reporters
asked what Mr. Hutchins would do if the reporters were to document
for him the pro-Communist affiliations of the 21 Directors, or the
4 that he specified, and Mr. Hutchins made the astounding reply,
which I suppose was intended to be clever but which really doesn't
make much sense if you listen to it, 'I'll recommend to the Board of
the Fund for the Republic that they turn over the entire balance of
the Fund to them.' The only interpretation you can place on that
Mr. Hutchins thinks it is highly meritorious that these individuals
have these Communist Party affiliations, which indeed he may think,
but it seems a little erratic and irrational to suggest that such a
thing be done in view of the fact that this money is supposed to be
spent in the general interest of the public, not just turned over
as a gift to the people who have long Communist affiliation records.
I think the public would disagree with that. I wonder sometimes
whether this man realizes what he is saying or not. Whether maybe
he gets so carried away by his own exhibitionism, his obsession for
whipping out what he thinks are smart phrases that he forgets that

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont cc - Mr. Boardman
Harbo cc - Mr. Belmont
Mohr _____
Parsons cc - Mr. Nichols
Rosen _____
Tamm cc - Fund for the Republic
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman BU 7:30p
 Gandy _____

Fund for the Republic file (100-331637)

100-391697-
NOT RECORDED
176 NOV 16 1955

NOV 21 1955

Memorandum for Mr. Nichols

November 8, 1955

2176C

these words he is using mean something. In any event the Hearst newspapers followed up today with a report of Hutchins's conference, a detailed printing of the exact records of the 4 individuals to whom Mr. Hutchins had specifically referred: [redacted] In a Middle West, Catholic newspaper the editor had a slightly different slant on how the remaining money in the Fund for the Republic should be spent. It carried an editorial which reads as follows in part: "It would be a good idea to give Mr. Hutchins his severance pay, liquidate the Fund and give what is left of the \$15,000,000 to the American Heart Association or some other foundation for improving the nation's health. The program and aims of the Fund for the Republic were admirable, the protection of freedom without notably harming national security, but it seems that the wrong people captured it. It will be practically impossible for it to regain public confidence with its present leaders."

b6
b7c

SEE REVERSE
SIDE FOR
CLASSIFICATION
ACTION

Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~SECRET~~

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: November 15, 1955

FROM : MR. R. R. ROACH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____

(S)

b1 per OGA
b3

ACTION:

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)
DATE 08-09-2011

your information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Classification per OGA Letter dated 7/18/2011
pgs268-269

Classified by SP8 BTJ/ao
Declassify on: OADR 7-31-88

Enclosure

SJP:fjb
(7)

ENCL.

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. Papich

~~SECRET~~

RECORDED - 14 100-391697-291

INDEXED - 14

20 NOV 18 1955

b6
b7C

66 NOV 21 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Albany (100-14607)

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: November 9, 1955

113210

Attached for the information of the Bureau are three newspaper clippings concerning above-captioned organization, which appeared in the Ithaca Journal, Ithaca, New York, on October 29 and 31, 1955, and in the Cornell Daily Sun, Ithaca, New York, on November 1, 1955.

Encls. (3) ENCL.
JDJ:bar
(3)
REGISTERED MAIL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/30/82 BY 30-8612/100-391697

203073687-3189

71 NOV 23 1955

INDEXED - 87
RECORDED - 87

100-391697-292

8 NOV 1955

CRIME REC.

Group Elects Rossiter; He Answers Critics

Clinton Rossiter, professor of government at Cornell, was elected president of the American Studies Association of New York State at a conference Saturday in Buffalo. Members of the association teach American history, economics, government, music, art, sociology, and other subjects at upstate colleges and universities and meet informally twice a year.

Rossiter told the Associated Press in Buffalo Saturday that his role in preparing the Fund for the Republic's "Bibliography on the Communist Program in the United States" was a comparatively minor one. The bibliography has been criticized.

"When I undertook my part in the project, I agreed long ago that we would keep the bibliography supplemented and up-to-date in response to responsible criticism," Rossiter said.

He added:

"In my opinion, I and my associates, all of whom are loyal Americans and intelligent anti-Communists, are performing a real and necessary public service in attempting to evaluate clearly and objectively the extent of Communist influence in the United States.

"I want to make it clear that the decision to go ahead now and revise the bibliography is not based on the irresponsible criticism of Philip Ratt and James T. Farrell.

My urge was to ignore Ratt's criticism, but because of its slanderous nature, I feel now that I must speak out."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/30/82 BY SP-8875/mle

Clinton B.

208 BTJPO
7-31-89

TITLE Fund for
the Republic

CLASSIFICATION

CLIPPING FROM

Schenectady Journal
Schenectady, N.Y.

PAGE

3

COL.

6

DATE

10/31/55

NO LOC

ENCLOSURE

100-391697-292

Perspective

Another Potshot at the Fund

By Andrew D. Kopkind

The most recent potshots taken during the open season on the Fund for the Republic have come, curiously, from a covey of "academic" big game hunters. The Fund, it seems, has fallen victim to an amazingly array of huntsmen.

One of the Fund's most earnest and worthwhile projects has been the publication of a "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States." This scholarly work, some 475 pages long, attempts to catalogue books, articles and treatises concerning Communist influence in American life.

Prof. Arthur E. Sutherland of the Harvard Law School acted as chairman of the committee which compiled the book. On the committee, coincidentally, was University Professor of Government Clinton B. Rossiter. Most of the work, however, was done, understandably, by a group of trained editorial research men, who reported to the committee at various stages during the compilation of the book.

The Bibliography, Prof. Rossiter explained to us, is a "pioneer" project in its field. Like all first attempts, it had its technical shortcomings, which the committee has attempted to correct in a second edition.

But before any start at revision could be made the Bibliography was printed just this year), criticism began to be levelled at both the work and its editors. It is interesting to note, moreover, that the criticism came at a time when the Fund itself had become the target of various disgruntled pressure groups.

The most relatively coherent charges on the Bibliography were made by one Philip Taft, a labor economist at Brown University, who, in a letter written to Rossiter on August 6, said that the University professor deserved a "vote of thanks from the Communist Party." Taft was not listed in the Bibliography.

Taft was joined in his criticisms by James T. Farrell, chairman of the "American Committee on Cultural Freedom," who said the authors of the bibliography were guilty of "inexcusable sloppiness." Farrell was not listed in the bibliography either.

These supposed scholars insist that the work represents only the Communist viewpoint, and neglects serious anti-Communist publications and opinions.

After careful study of the Bibliography, however, we are hard put to find evidence in support of such charge. Listed, for example, are authors such as Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, Yale Law School Professor Fowler Harper, anti-Communist philosopher Peter Viereck, the late Clarence Darrow, and scores of other famous names, none of whom are associ-

ated with Communist causes: John Dewey, Bernard DeVoto, the editors of *Fortune Magazine*, Walter Golthorn, Ralph de Toledano, Harold Hikes, George F. Kennan, Clare Booth Luce, J. B. Matthews (who once charged that several Cornell professors were Communists), Philip Murray, Budd Schulberg, and Walter White.

Many of these men are known to have subscribed to a more or less liberal point of view; others are decidedly "right wing."

Included also, naturally, are the names and works of leading members of, and spokesmen for, the Communist Party of America. One could hardly measure the Communist influence in American life without drawing heavily on Communist words and works. We trust that the Messrs. Taft and Farrell do not object to this.

The authors of the Bibliography tried to review the position and policy of the Communist Party as well as non-Party opinion which might have followed the Communist line. They do not make moral or political value judgments of any kind; the book has no editorial comment whatsoever. It merely is available to scholars and researchers who are preparing works on the subject. It is neither biased nor unbiased towards any political theory—it is eminently indifferent. It is that kind of a book.

But because the Fund itself is so much in the news these days, magazines and journals around the country have treated the Bibliography case as a capitulation of the Fund to the opinions of its critics. Nothing could be further from the truth. The headline which appeared in the *New York Times* a few days ago: "Fund Bows to Critics," is misleading and fallacious.

As Prof. Rossiter told us, the editors of the Bibliography long ago felt the need for addition and correction to the work, far apart from the irrelevant criticisms received from Taft, Farrell and John A. Sessions, who criticized the work in an article in the *New Leader* recently. Prof. Rossiter said that the editing committee had already planned its revision project. This work will continue.

The Fund for the Republic, as we have noted before in this column, is one of the most worthwhile civil liberties groups in America today. Its directors and members are among the most capable and clear thinking administrators available. These are the Fund's stated objectives: "to support activities directed toward the delimitation of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect these rights in the face of persistent international tension." In the pursuance of this goal, the Fund has done a monumental job.

110607

MSS

NY

Comm.

Title: Fund for the Republic

Classification:

Clipping from: Cornell Daily Sun

Page: 4 (editorial)

Col: 3

Date: 11/1/55

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/30/89 BY SP-8 BTJ/wm

100-37687-242

ENCLOSURE

Republic Book List Censured, To Be Changed

The Fund for the Republic is planning a revision of its "Bibliography on the Communist Program in the United States" because of criticism from scholars and writers who say important anti-Communist works have been omitted, the Associated Press reports.

David Freeman, the fund's secretary-treasurer, said yesterday the group was making a study whether the revision would be in the form of a supplement or a new edition of the 474-page volume dealing with bibliography of publications on communism in the country.

The volume has been distributed to some 1,200 schools, libraries and government institutions as a guide to literature dealing with communism. The project cost the fund \$67,000.

Freeman said one of the authors of the bibliography, Dr. Clinton Rossiter, professor of government at Cornell, agreed that "certain revisions" were needed. Rossiter was out of town today and could not be reached for comment.

Freeman said that Rossiter "collaborated originally with Dr. Arthur E. Sutherland of the Harvard University School of Law, formerly of Cornell, in the preparation of the bibliography."

The most bitter criticism of the project came from Prof. Philip Taft, labor economist of Brown University and an authority on communism in labor unions.

"You deserve a vote of thanks from the Communist Party," Taft wrote Rossiter.

"For non-Communists it is an outrageous performance."

Taft accused the volume of "distortion by omission." He said important anti-Communist works by himself and other writers have been omitted.

"You ought to be ashamed to peddle this obvious perversion as a bibliographical job," he wrote.

He was joined by novelist James T. Farrell, chairman of the American Committee of Cultural Freedom, who accused the authors of "inexcusable sloppiness," in not giving the non-Communists adequate representation.

The work also was criticized by Dr. John A. Sessions, assistant director of the Training Institute of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Sessions taught English at Cornell from 1946 to 1953.

The fund for the Republic, an independent organization set up by the Ford Foundation, recently was attacked by American Legion spokesmen on the ground of "left-wing bias."

In reply to the Legion charge, a fund spokesman listed the organization's major projects, saying, "This is the record and it speaks for itself."

The projects listed were the bibliography on Communism and a \$300,000 study of the influence of communism on American life; a \$50,000 Americanism program in which the Illinois American Legion is cooperating, and a \$100,000 study of the loyalty — security program being conducted independently by the Bar Assn of the City of New York.

The fund describes its aims as "furthering of the principles of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/30/82 BY SP-8 BT/KC

0080573/00
7-31-89

TITLE Fund for
the Republic

CLASSIFICATION

CLIPPING FROM

St. Louis Journal
Examiner, N.Y.

PAGE 2

COL. 1

DATE 10/29/55

TO: Mr. Nichols

FROM: M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
Fulton Lewis, Jr. Broadcast
November 15, 1955

DATE: November 16, 1955

On this date, Lewis devoted about five minutes to a discussion of the Ford Fund for the Republic. He stated "The Americanism Commission of the American Legion is shortly to release a report on the Fund for the Republic. The Fund for the Republic received \$15,000,000 from the Ford Foundation and one of its projects is the so-called Freedom Agenda program which at last we are going to get started on tonight. Before we do, however, let me mention that the report of this Americanism Commission will be turned over to the Executive Commission of the Legion for its action, and on Thursday, the new National Commander, Jr. Addington Wagner, (Phonetic), is going to deliver himself a speech on the subject. It will be surgical in nature.

"The Freedom Agenda program is the project of the Carrie Chapman (Phonetic), Memorial Foundation which is a tax-exempt feature of the League of Women Voters, a national organization, frankly political. At its local level, the League of Women Voters commands quite a little prestige in respected certain places. At the national level, it is hardly reflective of the thinking of the grassroots membership which so often is true of such organizations. The Carrie Chapman fund of \$111,000 from the left-wing Fund for the Republic ostensibly to carry out a national discussion program which Mr. Robert Maynard Hutchins described as to involve all of the group in the community in a continuing discussion of the specific rights of Americans. He said there are some 500 communities now taking part. The project operates quite simply, but from a standpoint of the Fund for the Republic in its propaganda objectives, very effectively.

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Fund for Republic/File (100-391697)

WCP:mbk
(8)

100-391697-✓
NOT RECORDED
141 NOV 20 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY 2022/STK/ep

66 NOV 23 1955

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

November 16, 1955

"Local leaders of the League of Women Voters get together what they call a local study group and there is one whole instruction pamphlet tellin how this is to be done. The group meets once a week and the project supplies home reading material and textbooks, in other words, seven consecutive discussion periods and here are the titles: 'The Bill of Rights and Our Individual Liberties,' 'Where Constitutional Liberties Came From,' 'Freedom of Speech and Press,' 'Constitutional Liberty and Judicial Activity,' 'The Constitution and Congressional Investigating Committees,' 'The Constitution and Loyalty Programs' and 'Lets Talk About Liberty.'

This is a glamorous list of discussion subjects I think you will agree, all very fine, who can challenge the desirability of discussing such subjects. The textbooks which have been written especially for the Freedom Agenda program and by the same old super-liberal names scattered all through the Fund for the Republic activity and it is on the basis of this source information that the discussions must of necessity be based.

"From here on we will begin to give you chapter and verse on just how slanted these textbooks are, how the sessions of the project are conducted and what has happened to some of them in specific communities over the nation. You will find it very interesting indeed."

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For Information

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: November 14, 1955

FROM : Mr. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY 00837 JALSUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
NOVEMBER 11, 1955, WWDC

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

On this date, Lewis devoted about two minutes to a discussion of the Ford Fund for the Republic. He stated that the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) had stated in regard to the twelve-man commission to review the security program that it was very regrettable that none of the twelve had distinguished themselves in the field of civil liberties.

Lewis stated that the "anti-anti-communists" and the Ford Fund for the Republic had long advocated a study of the security program. Lewis stated that the appointment of this commission was a sort of boomerang because the Fund was now concerned because the twelve-man commission seemed to be a good choice and would apparently conduct an objective study. Lewis stated that since the ADA openly criticized the twelve man commission and as the Ford Fund had "silently" criticized it, this should be evidence that the commission was a wise thing.

Lewis stated that he intends to show in future broadcasts that the Freedom Agenda is insidious because it was of a local nature and operates by virtue of a one hundred eleven thousand dollar grant from the Ford Fund. Lewis stated that the Freedom Agenda claimed to be tax exempt and is disguised under the name of the Caryl Chessman Memorial Fund of the League of Women Voters. Lewis added that it remained to be seen whether or not this grant was legally tax exempt.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Ford for the Republic File (100-391697)

TED:hs

72 NOV 28 1955

CRIME REC'D:22

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

The Director

November 10,
1955

Mr. F. Boardman

**MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION CONCERNING
(FSPICHAZE)**

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b7C

During 1928-1931 [redacted] was [redacted] for Arthur E. Cuthbertson, now associated with the Fund for the Republic. In 1940 Whittaker Chambers claimed that in 1937 he had been replaced as an espionage courier by a girl whom he had met once in 1937 and who was [redacted] to Andrea Emery in the U.S. Department of Interior, Washington, D. C. He determined that Emery's [redacted] during this period was [redacted] however, when we arranged for Chambers to view the subject in 1952, he was unable to recognize her. No information was obtained in our intensive investigation of Cater (1940-1955) to indicate that [redacted] took Chamber's place as a courier.

On 11-8-55 you asked if [redacted] is on the Security Index. Our files reflect that [redacted] is not on the Security Index at this time although she had been included therein prior to September, 1955. She was removed from the Security Index on 9-26-55 since her activities did not come within the new criteria approved by the Attorney General for inclusion on the Security Index inasmuch as: (1) She had not been a member or participated in the activities of a basic revolutionary organization within the past 5 years; (2) She had not been a member of or participated in the affairs of a front organization within the past 3 years; (3) Our investigation of her during the past 3 years had not reflected that she had anarchist or revolutionary beliefs which showed that she was likely to seize upon an opportunity to endanger the public safety; (4) No facts had been developed in our investigation of her which clearly and unmistakably depicted [redacted] as a dangerous individual who could be expected to commit acts inimical to the national defense and public safety of the U.S. in time of emergency.

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ACTION:

None. This is an answer to your inquiry.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/31/89 BY 60305 JLS

JFT:jmh:hs

(6)

101-3070

cc - 1 - 100-391607 (Fund for the Republic)

100-391697-
NOT RECORDED
176 NOV 13 1955

Tics - Mr. Boardman

Mr. Belmont

Mr. Clegg

Mr. Glavin

✓

71 NOV 1955

ORIGINAL FILED IN 101-2790-

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

FROM : M. A. Nichols

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
7:00 PM, WWDC, 11-10-55

DATE: November 10, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY 2058 BTJ/kg

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

In his radio broadcast on Thursday, November 10, 1955, Fulton Lewis, Jr., stated that friends of Henry Ford II had advised Ford that for the good of the Ford Motor Company he should make an open repudiation of the Fund for the Republic and its "\$15,000,000 propaganda program of anti-anti-Communism." According to Mr. Lewis, other top figures in the Ford Company have received the same advice, but as yet they have not been able to bring themselves to do it. Mr. Lewis said that the Ford officials prefer to "stand on the flimsy technicality that the Ford Company has no control over the Ford Foundation or over the Foundation's notorious creature, the Fund for the Republic." He continued that Henry and Benson Ford are members of the Board of Trustees of the Foundation, and the rest of the Board members are friends of theirs and presumably were selected for the Board by them and that Henry and Benson Ford have taken the stand that the wishes of the Ford family on how the funds of the Foundation are spent would not carry any weight -- or if they wanted certain members of the Board to resign, those members would "stage a sit-down strike and refuse to resign."

Mr. Lewis stated that he felt the Commission to study and investigate the Government employees security program should do an excellent and very objective job. He said the Commission members include former Attorney General James McGranery, Assistant Secretary of Defense Carter Lane Burgess, former American Bar Association President [redacted] Senator John Stehnis (Democrat-Mississippi); Representative Francis Walter (Democrat-Pennsylvania) and former Republican Governor Edwin L. Mechem of New Mexico. Mr. Lewis stated, "This was the Committee, by the way, that the Fund for the Republic was propagandizing for. I wonder how they will like it now that they've got it."

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information.

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Fund for the Republic File (100-391697)

NOV 17 1955

100-391697-
NOT RECORDED
186 NOV 18 1955

58 NOV 23 1955

ORIGINAL FILED IN 94-4-2189-232

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1-Section tickler
2-Orig & duplicate
1-Young

November 12, 1955

RECORDED

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

100-391697-294

Director, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY SP8BJJ/af

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

I thought you might be interested in knowing that this Bureau has received information from a member of the Constitutional Rights Committee of the Toledo Ear Association, Toledo, Ohio, to the effect that [redacted] a Toledo attorney and a member of the above committee, transmitted a check for \$10,000 to the Toledo Ear Association from the Fund for the Republic during the past year.

b6
b7C

According to our source, [redacted] was originally approached concerning these funds by a [redacted], believed to be associated with the Fund or the Ford Foundation or both. [redacted] had made it known to [redacted] that funds were available from the Fund as a grant to the Toledo Ear Association if the funds or at least a considerable portion thereof would be used in providing legal aid for "subversive cases or other unpopular causes." According to our source, the Toledo Ear Association has not yet decided whether to accept or reject the \$10,000 although they are still in possession of the check.

The source who furnished the above information also indicated that the Toledo Ear Association was approached by the Cleveland Ear Association, Cleveland, Ohio, for a contribution to help defray the expenses incurred by the court-appointed attorneys who will help defend the Smith Act defendants in the Smith Act Trial in Cleveland. According to our source, [redacted] suggested at the time of this solicitation, that the Cleveland Ear Association could undoubtedly obtain similar aid from the Fund for the Republic as had been made to the Toledo Ear Association.

(100-420971-1)

It is noted that the above-mentioned [redacted] is apparently [redacted] who is [redacted] of the Fund for the Republic. Our files fail to reflect any derogatory information or investigation concerning [redacted] or [redacted].

2cc - Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

2cc - Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

cc - Foreign Liaison Unit (detached)

NOTE ON YELLOW: Above information furnished to Bureau by Cleveland letter 11/10/55 stating the informant is AUSA [redacted] Toledo, Ohio.

b6
b7C

NOV 21 1955
COMM-FBI

100-391697-294

PK:epw

100-391697 DEC 2 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: November 10, 1955

FROM : SAC, Cleveland (100-0)

SUBJECT: FUNDS FOR THE REPUBLIC
SM-CALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY 20815 [signature] 4-1

On October 26, 1955, AUSA [redacted] Toledo, Ohio, advised that he is a member of [redacted] of the Toledo Bar Association and in this capacity the following information has come to his attention, which he feels may be of some interest to the Bureau.

[redacted] stated that within the past year [redacted] a Toledo attorney and a member of [redacted] transmitted a check for \$10,000 to the Toledo Bar Association from subject organization. According to [redacted] for whom [redacted] has the highest regard, was originally approached concerning these funds by a [redacted] who is believed by [redacted] to be either associated with the Ford Foundation or subject organization or both, as it is also Mr. CONDON's understanding that [redacted] is in some way related to [redacted] [redacted] had made it known to [redacted] that funds were available from subject organization as a grant to the Toledo Bar Association if the funds or at least a considerable portion thereof would be used in providing legal aid for, "subversive cases or other unpopular causes." According to [redacted] at the present time the Toledo Bar Association has not decided whether to accept or reject the \$10,000 although they are still in possession of the check.

More recently, according to [redacted], the Toledo Bar Association was approached by the Cleveland Bar Association for a contribution to help defray the expenses incurred by the court appointed attorneys who will defend the Smith Act defendants in the Smith Act Trial in Cleveland. According to [redacted] at the time of this solicitation, [redacted] suggested that the Cleveland Bar Association could undoubtedly obtain similar aid from subject organization as had been made available to the Toledo Bar Association.

It is to be noted that SUMNER CANARY, U. S. Attorney, Cleveland, Ohio, in discussing the newspaper account of the Cleveland Bar Association's program to collect \$30,000 to help pay the court appointed attorneys presently defending the Smith Act Defendants in Cleveland, has stated that neither he nor the court is exactly aware how the money is being collected, although he has heard that it is by voluntary contributions

JFK:bn
(4)

cc: CV 100-16390

RECORDED-11

EX-121

13 NOV 14 1955

LIAISON

CONSOLIDATION

Consolidate this
into file
100-391697b6
b7Cb6
b7C

100-391697-294

SE 5 100 120971

99 90

Director, FBI

from the larger law firms in Cleveland.

The Cleveland Office has no further information regarding the captioned organization and the above is being furnished the Bureau for its appropriate attention.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
NOVEMBER 17, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY 60285 D/A

DATE: November 17, 1955

Tolson ☒
Boardman ☒
Nichols ☒
Belmont ☒
Harbo ☒
Mohr ☒
Parsons ☒
Rosen ☒
Tamm ☒
 Sizoo ☒
Winterrowd ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Holloman ☒
Gandy ☒

Fulton Lewis devoted approximately ten minutes of his broadcast to the Freedom Agenda Program sponsored by the Fund for the Republic. He referred to his discussion last night about the organization of a Freedom Agenda Project neighborhood discussion group. Tonight he gave an example of one potential subject, "freedom of speech and press." The members of the group buy the pamphlets and material for about twenty-five cents and after studying these, they are ready for the discussions. He said one such pamphlet entitled "Freedom of Speech and Press," by [redacted], He then said that the introduction to this pamphlet shows the author as being a "scholarly old gentleman" and a well-versed champion of constitutional rights. This introduction listed the author, among other things, as being educated at Brown University and Harvard Law School, a practicing attorney for three years before becoming an Assistant Professor at Harvard in 1916, a member of the Wickersham Commission which reviewed political practices under the Hoover Administration, a recipient of the Stephen A. Wise Award in connection with civil liberties.

Lewis pointed out, however, that the pamphlet left out many pertinent things about the author which should have been presented for a true description of him. Lewis said that among the things left out were the following items about [redacted]

In 1924 he was a signer of a public statement, along with Felix Frankfurter, criticizing the Department of Justice for apprehending and prosecuting communists; in 1942 he was listed by the National Committee to Free Earl Browder as one of the prominent Americans favoring clemency for Browder; in 1940 he was listed in the Daily Worker as having signed a protest to the President against the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; in 1941 he signed a petition asking the President and Congress to defend the rights of the Communist Party; in 1944 he was listed in the records of the House Un-American Activities Committee as having signed a petition asking the discontinuance of the Dies Committee. The petition itself was drawn up by the American Committee for Democracy and International Freedom which has been cited as subversive and Communist by the House Un-American Activities Committee. In March, 1950 [redacted] filed with the House Un-American Activities

cc - Fund for the Republic file 100-391697

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont

LJH:rcw

NOV 28 1955

b6
b7c

COPIES ON ORIGINAL

1126

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

November 17, 1955

Committee a statement opposing legislation then pending to regulate subversive activities. In 1950 he made speeches of opposition to the Mundt-Nixon Communist Bill now on the books as the Internal Security Act and is listed by the House Un-American Activities Committee as one of the sponsors of the "National Committee to Defeat the Mundt-Nixon Bill" which is described by the House Un-American Activities Committee as "the registered lobbying organization which has carried out the objectives of the Communist Party in its fight against antsubversive organizations."

Lewis said he would not deny [] right to belong to any of these activities if he believes in them or to write a pamphlet on freedom of speech and press. Lewis asserted that it is manifestly dishonest for [] to be listed in the pamphlet's introduction as he is with all the other data concerning him suppressed. It is also manifestly dishonest for the Freedom Agenda Program, financed by the Ford Foundation and Fund for the Republic, to make this pamphlet required reading for discussion groups concerning the subject of freedom of speech and press. It shows that the citizens' money in the hands of the Ford Foundation is being used to brainwash the citizens without their knowing they are being brainwashed.

b6
b7C

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

jm

Mr. Nichols

November 17, 1955

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
NOVEMBER 16, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-31-89 BY SP8 BTJ/agf

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his broadcast of November 16, 1955, devoted his entire time to the Freedom Agenda Program being sponsored by the Fund For the Republic. He stated that in Robert Hutchins' own words the purpose is to stimulate the formulation of discussion groups on individual liberties. He stated that Hutchins further said to do this they will organize discussion groups. Lewis then stated that they have set up seven discussion sessions, and he listed the topics for these seven discussion sessions which are:

- (1) The Bill of Rights And Our Individual Liberties
- (2) Where Constitutional Liberty Came From
- (3) Freedom of Speech and of the Press
- (4) Constitutional Liberty and Seditious Activity
- (5) The Constitutional and Congressional Investigating Committee
- (6) The Constitution and the Loyalty Program
- (7) Let's Talk About Liberty

Lewis stated that these topics sound very fine, and on the surface no one could be critical. However, he stated the danger is in the Fund's interpretation of individual liberties which is what makes it dangerous. He devoted the rest of his program to reading from an instruction sheet put out in connection with the Freedom Agenda Program. This instruction sheet was titled "How To Organize a Freedom Agenda Project."

In conclusion, Lewis read a letter from a west coast housewife who had written to him stating that out of curiosity she had joined a Freedom Agenda discussion group two weeks ago. She stated this group consisted of from 15 to 18 people, and a large part of the meeting was devoted to discussing Lewis unfavorably. She stated the pamphlets that were utilized were very slanted and that when she questioned many of the statements contained therein, she was advised that she was not properly indoctrinated. Lewis stated he would continue discussing the Freedom Agenda Program on future broadcasts.

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information.

100-371697-

NOT RECORDED

161 NOV 23 1955

cc - Fund For the Republic File (100-371697)

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Mr. Tamm

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO Mr. L. V. Boardman *lv*

DATE: November 18, 1955

FROM Mr. A. H. Belmont *ahb*

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

According to the November 5, 1955, issue of the "New York Times" newspaper, Paul G. Hoffman, chairman of the board of the Fund for the Republic, on November 4, 1955, presented a \$5,000 award from the Fund to the University of California YMCA for its "distinguished service to freedom of speech and equality of opportunity." The article gave no further details concerning the activities of the YMCA which prompted this award.

According to the above article, Hoffman while making the award declared that the recent criticism of the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic has been based either on misunderstanding or plain silliness. Hoffman said "Communism is not something that's going to die tomorrow. We're going to have to reckon with it for a long time to come. So we had better find out all we can about it."

ACTION:

None. For your information.

cc - Boardman
Belmont
Nichols
Section tickler
Young

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY SP8 BTJ/100

- 100-391697

RECORDED 13

INDEXED - 13

NOV 22 1955

EX - 124

1 NOV 28 1955

REPUBLIC FUND HELPS HITS 'SILLY' ATTACK

Special to The New York Times.

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 4—

Much recent criticism of the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic has been based either on misunderstanding or plain silliness, Paul G. Hoffman declared here today.

The chairman of the Fund was in the San Francisco Bay area to present a \$5,000 award from the Fund for the Republic to the University of California Y. M. C. A. for its "distinguished service to freedom of speech and equality of opportunity."

Defending a \$300,000 grant for a study of the Communist party in America, Mr. Hoffman said: "Communism is not something that's going to die tomorrow. We're going to have to reckon with it for a long time to come. So we had better find out all we can about it."

He said the Fund had been attacked for retaining Earl Browder, one-time Communist party leader, as a source of information.

"That sort of criticism," Mr. Hoffman said, "is one of the silliest things I have ever heard. Naturally you find out about communism from people who know about it."

113209

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. Boardman ✓
Mr. Nichols ✓
Mr. Belmont ✓
Mr. Harbo ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Parsons ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tamm ✓
Mr. Sizoo ✓
Mr. Winterrowd ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Mr. Holloman ✓
Miss Gandy ✓
ROACH

can find

Y. G. G.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY SP8/SZJ/ag

*Trans to
Boardman
11-18-53
RCY*

N. Y. TIMES

NOV 5 1955

100-391697

ENCLOSURE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: November 22, 1955

FROM : *WJL* SAG, WFO (100-0)SUBJECT:

SM - X

b6
b7C

Re San Francisco letter November 3, 1955,
which advised that captioned individual had been
appointed as Research Assistant at the Washington Office
of the Fund for the Republic located at 2449 P Street,
N. W., Washington, D. C. This is to advise that this
office contemplates no investigation concerning this
individual.

GCM:LEB
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/24/89 BY 28510af

RECORDED - 19

INDEXED - 19

EX-125

100-391697-296

27 NOV 23 1955

SUBV. CONTROL

142
71 NOV 30 1955*142*
*142**O.C. Yoder*

Mr. Nichols

November 25, 1955

Mr. A. Jones

W-1771 LEWIS BROADCAST
11-24-55

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/31/89 BY 288 BTJ/kf

During his broadcast on Thanksgiving, Fulton Lewis discussed John Lord O'Drien at some length. Lewis identified O'Drien as the man Hutchins referred to in his bout with Meet the Press as the "leading attorney in U.S.". On the Meet the Press program Hutchins said O'Drien had said "the issues of loyalty and security had been seized upon by unscrupulous politicians and made into a political issue."

Regarding O'Drien's background, Lewis said he originally was from Buffalo, was 31 years of age and a member of the Washington law firm of Covington-Durley (ph). He said that this was Dean Acheson's old firm and said that Donald Riss, brother of Alger Hiss, was a member of this firm. Regarding this firm, Lewis said it was the outfit that represented Communist Poland and added that O'Drien has been with the firm since 1945. With respect to Hutchins claim that O'Drien was the outstanding attorney in the country, Lewis commented that he had not heard of any outstanding cases O'Drien had tried. He said he did remember that O'Drien in 1939 had taken a beating when he was the Republican candidate for U.S. Senator from New York State. He stated that O'Drien was a member of the Board of Directors for the Fund for the Republic. It was then mentioned that O'Drien was the author of the book "National Security and Individual Freedom" which is just off the press. Hutchins on "Meet the Press" said that he strongly recommended that everyone should read this work.

Lewis quoted excerpts of page 3 of this book and noted that O'Drien referred to statements made by Robert A. Oppenheimer and mentioned that O'Drien claimed that our citizens were becoming hysterical of a hysterical fear of Russia. O'Drien's book also tells of the distrust growing out of the investigations by the FBI and other intelligence agencies.

Lewis also spoke of a book by Samuel A. Stoffer (ph) which he said O'Drien referred to as "Communists, Conformity and Civil Liberties." Lewis concluded by adding that Stoffer's and O'Drien's books were typical of reading matter recommended by the Freedom Agenda for the Fund for the Republic. 100-331007

CC - Mr. Boardman
CC - Mr. Nichols
CC - Mr. Belmont

NOV 25 1955

100-331007 - Fund for the Republic File (100-331007)

Mr. Nichols

November 25, 1955

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS BROADCAST
11-25-55

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/31/89 BY 088 BTJ

Fund For The Republic

Mr. Lewis stated that several weeks ago when the President, the Vice President and Speaker of the House, Rayburn, each appointed four members to a Commission to study the Government's Security System, the extreme liberal anti-anti communists felt they were double crossed. Lewis said that among the original promoters of such a Commission were the American ^{For} Democratic Action (ADA) and the Fund for the Republic (Fund). These groups intended to pack any such Commission with their own men to insure the kind of report they wanted - that is, a report showing that the Security System is heinous, brutal and dangerous, an infringement of rights and built on guilt by association. The Fund went so far as to circulate a falsified copy of a statement by Senator Hubert Humphrey, which was printed in the Congressional Record without actually being delivered. The Fund called it a 'Committee Report' which it was not. When the 12 members of the Commission were announced, it turned out to be a list of excellent and objective appointees, non-extremist who could be counted on to study the facts and reach an intelligent conclusion. Lewis praised the group on his broadcast at the time, he stated. He stated that now the new ADA 'World' has come out deploring the appointees, charging that the liberals have been double-crossed and taken in. Lewis says this shows how the liberals work. When they learned that they could not have their stooges on the Commission, they blasted the whole idea which they had originally promoted.

Lewis says that these tactics should give rise to caution on the part of the citizens who have been taken in by the Fund. For example, he says that the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, which has been persuaded by the Fund to sponsor a \$100,000 study of the Security Program, should re-examine the project to which the Association has lent its name.

CC - Mr. Boardman

CC - Mr. Nichols

CC - Mr. Belmont

CC - Fund for the Republic File (100-371677)

100-371677-
NOV 28 1955

MAL:iva

(7)

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

November 25, 1955

Lewis also reported that Senator McCarthy today spoke out against the Hennings Subcommittee of the Senate which is conducting a purported investigation of the Government Security Program. Senator McCarthy says the study is actually a one-man investigation, the type for which he himself was criticized earlier. Senator McCarthy charges that Hennings is conducting a jungle warfare against the Security Program, and Lewis feels that McCarthy's points are well taken. Fund assistance has been behind the Hennings Sub-committee from the outset and the fund is financing any appraisal of returns from a questionnaire which the Subcommittee sent out, Lewis says.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Best Copy Available

Mr. Nichols

November 20, 1955

Mr. A. Jones

WILSON LEVIE, JR., RADIO ALBUQUERQUE, 7 p.m.
November 22, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-31-89 BY 8807JKP

Wilson Levie, on this broadcast, said that he was sending a telegram tonight (11/22/55) to Robert Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic, that his fund has financed an extensive free circulating library of 115 million-willinger word "prints" of Edward G. Bremer's See It For program in which Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer was interviewed at length. Levie said that in his telegram he was sending a formal challenge to Hutchins to do the same with the fact the free program last March when Hutchins as a guest on that program explained his, Hutchins, point of view on various controversial issues and politics.

Levie stated that Representative Francis Giffers, (Pa.) of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, informed a few minutes ago he will immediately conduct a full investigation of the Fund for the Republic to determine whether it is a subversive organization and to determine its aims and objectives.

ALL INFORMATION Informative only.

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - ~~Ford for the~~ Special file (100-361077)

Fund for the Republic

WLN:rp

(6)

100-391697-

NOT RECORDED

NOV 28 1955

291955

Mr. Nichols

November 21, 1955

H. A. Jones

WALTER LEWIS, JR., EXECUTIVE
NOVEMBER 18, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY SP8 BJS/kf

On his Friday evening broadcast, November 18, 1955, Lewis devoted most of his time to discussing former Senator Cain who he reported was in hot water in connection with the recent hearings on the Washington State Pension Union case. Lewis reported that the State House may step in to discipline Cain, and he added that the Department of Justice was going to ask that Cain be disqualified from conducting an instant hearing. As aside, Lewis mentioned that the Fund for the Republic had distributed thousands of copies of a speech by Cain captioned "Strong in Their Pride and Free." This speech attacked the governmental security program.

Lewis mentioned that Cain's position on the Subversive Activities Control Board expires next August, but he ventured his resignation would be requested before that date. Lewis added that if Cain was tossed out of his job, he could always get on with the Fund for the Republic who had hired others of similar ilk.

Lewis then mentioned that Dr. Hutchins was in Canada and spoke on the need of "all people being educated for freedom," and Lewis added, "whatever that means." Lewis said Hutchins went on to say what we need is a specialized educational system to develop the intellectual powers of the young so that they may become unspecialized happy men and effective citizens of democracy - education which aims to supply the intellectual foundations for life. Lewis added, "you figure that one out."

Lewis then reported that Roy Cohn told the guests at a dinner in his honor that the day of investigation of communism is all but dead. He added that Cohn was critical of Henry Ford II for his inaction.

Lewis then spoke of an article captioned "Robert M. Hutchins Meets the Press" which appeared in the "liberal" New Leader. Lewis read the final paragraph of this article which was critical of Hutchins, and Lewis added that this proves that even the "liberals" can't stomach Hutchins.

DISCUSSION: None, for information.

cc - Fund for the Republic file 100-301007
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont

100-37117-
NOT RECORDED
140 NOV 22 1955

WAL:cah
(7)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI
 FROM : SAC, Albany (100-14607)
 SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
 INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: November 17, 1955

Attached for the information of the Bureau is a copy of a newspaper clipping concerning above organization which appeared in the Ithaca Journal, Ithaca, New York, on November 8, 1955.

Encl. (1) ENCL.
 JDJ:bar
 (3)
 REGISTERED MAIL

EX-125

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 7/31/89 BY SP8 J23/208
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EX-125

RECORDED-16

100-391697-29

CRIME REC.

2 NOV 22 1955

NOV 20 1955

66 NOV 29 1955

Hutchins Defends Fund Work

Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic, says "the Communist Party is a danger to the United States" but he still would give a Communist a job.

"I wouldn't hesitate to hire a Communist for a job he was qualified to do, provided I was in a position to see that he did it," Hutchins said yesterday at a news conference.

The 15 million dollar fund has been criticized by the American Legion for having what it called a left-wing bias. The fund also was criticized for interviewing and paying a fee to Earl Browder, former secretary of the Communist Party, in preparing a study on communism in the United States.

Hutchins said Browder had no part in writing the study and was paid only for information he provided.

The fund was set up by the Ford Foundation but is an independent organization. Its stated purpose is to foster and preserve civil liberties and the Constitution.

Hutchins said the fund has no intention of withdrawing a bibliography, or list of books, which it issued on the subject of communism.

Repeating a previous announcement by fund officials, however, he said the list would be revised and brought up to date.

The bibliography has been criticized by some students in the field of Communist activities.

... of important anti-Communist works.

Hutchins called the bibliography a pioneering work and quoted a number of authorities as approving it even though it still contained "omissions and imperfections."

Prof. Clinton Rossiter of Cornell is in charge of the project.

It takes about seven miles of thread and 700 hours of labor to make a mink coat.

TITLE Fund for the Republic

CLASSIFICATION _____

CLIPPING FROM _____

Ithaca Journal
Ithaca, N. Y.

PAGE 3

COL. ?

DATE 11/8/55

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/31/89 BY 60385 JLB

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
NOV 10 1955	
FBI - ALBANY	

NOV 20 1955

100-391697-297

ENCLOSURE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *Kper*

DATE: Nov. 22, 1955

FROM : Quinn Tamm *Q*

SUBJECT:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/31/89 BY 2038 *SP/SP*

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Last night while having dinner with Joseph Volpe, former General Counsel of the Atomic Energy Commission and now an attorney engaged in private practice of law in Washington, we were discussing the Sunday evening "Meet the Press" television program on which Robert Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic, appeared.

Volpe is extremely vitriolic and bitter in his criticism of Hutchins and extremely outspoken in such criticism. He advised me that during the period when Senator Clifford P. Case of New Jersey was the President of the Fund for the Republic, he (Volpe) served as adviser to Case on projects for this Fund. During that time they had outlined an objective study of the Government's security program based upon the fact that there had been so much comment concerning this particular program. Volpe stated that their study was to be strictly objective and they had outlined a procedure whereby they would contact the Attorney General and other interested Government officials in the study to be made of the program. After Case had been elected Senator and had resigned as President of the Fund for the Republic, Hutchins was designated as President.

Immediately after Hutchins' designation Volpe together with other advisers of the Fund met with Hutchins to outline their suggested procedure for an objective analysis of the security program. Hutchins immediately greeted them with the statement that the "security program is no good and I am going to prove it and I'll spend all the money necessary to establish that fact." He stated obviously Hutchins' mind had been made up prior to the time he even had contact with the Government security program and his whole approach was not to be one of objectivity but rather a definite preconceived idea to discredit the security program. Volpe advised me that he immediately that day resigned as adviser to the Fund for the Republic and has since had absolutely no regard for Hutchins.

OT:VH 121 53 2 1 611.22
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RECORDED-46

INDEXED-46

24 NOV 28 1955

EX - 121

COPY FILED IN 94-38139

UNRECORDED

100-391697-298

LAWSON

HRS. FILES

Mr. Nichols

November 21, 1955

W. A. Jones

MEET THE PRESS,
11:30, 6:00 P.M.,
NOVEMBER 20, 1955

The above-captioned program was monitored in the Crime Records Section. Dr. Robert Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic, was the guest, with panelists being Lawrence K. Rusk, Frederick Woltman, (New York World Telegram and Sun), James T. McCarthy (Time Magazine) and [redacted] (Portland, Maine, Press Herald).

Hutchins, at the start of the program, was reminded by Mr. Spivak of the recent criticism of the Fund for the Republic by the past commander of the American Legion, Mr. Collins. Hutchins stated that he believed that Communism was a serious menace to civil liberties in the United States. He said that the Fund was dedicated to justice and freedom, and that Collins had misconceived the Fund's position. The Fund, Hutchins claimed, wanted to make the Bill of Rights a "living document" and he denied charges that it was either soft on Communism or trying to undermine security programs.

Hutchins was then asked why the American Legion was so consistent in its criticisms. Hutchins said he felt there was a split between the rank and file and the top leaders of the organization. He was then asked why he hired people who had claimed the Fifth Amendment privilege. Mention was made of an individual (Anso Landman, who was hired part-time by the Fund as a public relations man) who had pled the Fifth Amendment. Hutchins replied that the Fund needed the person (Landman) and did not think the use of the Fifth Amendment disqualified him. He added that the incident had been blown up.

There followed a rather extensive discussion of whether Hutchins could hire a known Communist. Spivak, in particular, posed the questions: suppose there was a person, fully qualified in all

cc - Fund 100-331607
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Research File

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY 1177 241699

NOV 28 1955

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

November 21, 1955

respects but was a Communist, would Hutchins hire him? Hutchins refused to give a yes or no answer, saying that the case must rest on its individual merits, that is, whether the applicant had abilities desired by the Fund, the degree of culpability and association as connected with membership in the Communist Party.

Mention was made of the case of Mary Knowles, librarian in Plymouth, Meeting, Pa., who pled the Fifth Amendment and the Fund subsequently gave her library \$5,000 because her employers refused to fire her. Hutchins said the Fund was against blacklisting without due process. The library's action in retaining Knowles, Hutchins, said, showed courage.

Discussion was also had regarding Earl Browder. Hutchins said Browder had been hired by Professor Clinton Rossiter (Professor at Cornell University), who is making, according to Hutchins, a "definitive" study of Communism in the United States. This study is financed by the Fund, but Rossiter is completely independent in conducting his study. Browder was paid, Hutchins said, for information furnished Rossiter.

Several of the newspapermen tried, without success, to get Hutchins to commit himself on whether he would hire a Communist. Hutchins each time was evasive and refused to give a straight answer.

In the discussion a quote by John Lord O'Brien concerning civil liberties was mentioned. In this quote the term unscrupulous politicians was mentioned. Hutchins said he endorsed this statement, whereupon he was asked to identify these "unscrupulous politicians." He refused to name names, adding that it was apparent that they were well known. Craig then countered that he was engaging in generalities, a thing she felt he and the Fund opposed.

Hutchins was asked whether he would welcome a Congressional investigation of the Fund. He said such an investigation would take a great deal of time but he would welcome it. However, he felt it was neither necessary or desirable. At the conclusion of the interview Hutchins mentioned that projects sponsored by the Fund had brought about changes in the Nation's security programs and in the field of education.

At the very end of the program Hutchins said that one-third of the Fund's grants had been in the field of race relations but that the "smear" press and the panel members of the program had ignored that phase of the Fund for the Republic.

RECOMMENDATION:

None, for information.

Mr. Nichols

November 21, 1955

M. A. Jones

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
NOVEMBER 21, 1955

SYNOPSIS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY 28851/af

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 94-4-2182

On his broadcast November 21, 1955, Lewis discussed appearance of Robert M. Hutchins, President, Ford Fund for the Republic, on the November 20, 1955, radio and television program, "Meet The Press." Lewis stated Hutchins' appearance gave a good idea as to the character of Hutchins and the Fund he heads. He noted during course of 30-minute show Hutchins dodged, debated and double talked and managed to insult the intelligence of reporters on the panel and radio and television audience. He made reference to Hutchins' discomfort over such items as the hiring of Earl Browder as an advisor; Hutchins' statement before a New York press conference that he would not hesitate to hire a Communist for the Fund; lack of actual accomplishment by the Fund for the Republic to date, and his statement to effect that the issues of loyalty and security have been seized upon by unscrupulous politicians as a political weapon. Lewis pointed out inconsistencies in Hutchins' statement in his attempt to dodge embarrassing questions. In his attempt to highlight accomplishments of the Fund, Hutchins stated that it was instrumental in causing a revision of regulations affecting discharges from the armed services; that the Fund through the Association of the Bar of the City of New York influenced the Attorney General to recommend certain changes in security system and that it had assisted the Public Education Association of New York in producing report on discrimination in New York schools. Lewis commented on this by showing that his personal inquiry had elicited information from Defense Dept. that changes in discharge procedures were made entirely independent of any study sponsored by Fund. He also checked with Dept. of Justice to ascertain that Brownell suggested revision for loyalty and security procedures was the result of long study made by his own assistants and that decision was made several weeks before his meeting with Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. Lewis concluded by saying Hutchins' appearance was most enlightening since it destroyed the myth about the man and amounted to a sort of total intellectual suicide. He advocated that a copy of the interview be made available for Mr. Henry Ford II who was not in the country, and missed opportunity of "seeing his wonder boy perform."

RECOMMENDATION: None. For your information.

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Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Fund for the Republic File (100-391697)

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NOT RECORDED
141 NOV 30 1955

Mr. Nichols

November 21,
1955

H. A. Jones

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
NOVEMBER 21, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/31/89 BY SP8 BTJ/kp

The following is a verbatim transcription of Mr. Lewis' program tonight which was devoted in its entirety to comments concerning the appearance of Robert M. Hutchins, Head of the Ford Fund for the Republic on "Meet the Press" radio and television show November 20, 1955:

"I sincerely hope you took my advice and watched or listened to the program, "Meet the Press," yesterday on which Mr. Robert M. Hutchins, the President of the Fund for the Republic was the guest, because it was about as clear a lesson on the subject of Mr. Hutchins and the Fund for the Republic as you would ever find. It proved everything that is being said about it. In the course of that 30 minutes, Mr. Hutchins dodged, evaded and double-talked and managed to insult the intelligence of the reporters on the panel and the listeners and viewers by radio and television. In a crafty twist of words he tried to make his audience believe that several developments in government were the result of projects of the Fund, but he never would come out with the direct answer to the question whether he would refuse to hire on the Fund's payroll an otherwise acceptable individual because he is a communist. He referred several times to these questions as "flying saucers," whatever that figure of speech may mean, and insisted that each case has to be considered on its merits. He dodged the question of Earl Browder being engaged on one of the Fund's projects at a reported salary of \$800 a month (quite a salary by the way) by saying that that is entirely the concern of Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University who has been commissioned (to use his exact language) to make "what we hope will be a definitive study, a definitive study of what communism has amounted to in the United States and what it amounts to now."

He repeats this distinction later in the program impressing the fact that this is all Professor Rossiter's baby and the Fund has no control over it. Larry Spivak of the panel was asking Hutchins about the Browder connection and observed that Browder has refused to talk thus far to reporters or to Congress

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Holloman _____
Gandy _____

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Fund for the Republic File (100-391697)

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NOT RECORDED
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ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 94-4-214

November 21, 1955

saying "Will he tell you anything except what he has told us and that is that this is a political party?" Hutchins replied, "I would be grateful if you would change the pronoun. Mr. Browder is not talking to me, he is talking to Professor Rossiter." Mr. Spivak then said that to the Fund and to Hutchins he was talking to Professor Rossiter. "Professor Rossiter is a completely independent projector financed by the Fund. Now Mr. Rossiter is a trained historian and Mr. Rossiter will be able to appraise the information that Mr. Browder gives him." Now the truth is that Mr. Hutchins' own annual report of the Fund for the Republic discriminates sharply between grants by the Fund to organizations, groups, or individuals to be used by them in their own way and projects which the Fund itself is conducting and despite what Mr. Hutchins said in these passages it may interest you to know that the Rossiter project, with \$300,000 of financing, which is dispersed by the Fund for the Republic, as the professor calls for it to be dispersed, is listed not as a grant but as a project of the Fund itself. One thing more, Mr. Hutchins spoke of a definitive study. Let me read you a paragraph from an interview, in the "Cornell Daily Sun" Ithaca, New York, February 17, 1955. This is Professor Rossiter being quoted "But one point I wish to make clear is this, none of us had illusions about the definitiveness of any of these studies or all of them. Singly or together, they will not prove (and this is in capital letters) **THE ANSWER**. There can be no final generally accepted answer to questions of this sort, but we do hope to come up with the best informed answer possible under the circumstances." So there seems to be a difference of opinion between Mr. Hutchins and Clinton Rossiter as to whether this is to be a definitive study or not. The question about whether Mr. Hutchins would hire a Communist came early in the program and its origin was the New York Press Conference, which Mr. Hutchins held several weeks back, in which he said that he would do so. That he would hire a Communist. This time however, before a nation-wide audience, he obviously didn't want to come out so bluntly, and his efforts to avoid doing so were painful and tortured to the point that at times there were beads of perspiration on his face. When asked by Mary Craig why it was necessary to hire Amos Landsman, who pleaded the Fifth Amendment repeatedly just three weeks before Hutchins hired him on the Fund payroll, when there were plenty of qualified people, who were not Fifth Amendmentors, his reply was "the item to which you refer and to which the Commander of the American Legion referred, has been blown up out of all proportion to its significance. The individual referred to was hired on a temporary basis to work part time during the rush season." At another point he said that one reason for hiring Landsman was that he wanted to dramatize the fact that the Fund is opposed to blacklisting and that there are all sorts of gradations of activity in organizations by individual members. The gist of it was, briefly, that it is possible to be just a little communistic.

November 21, 1955

"It was in answer to a question whether Mr. Hutchins thinks the Fund is doing a good job that he shot in the fast one. His reply was as follows: "Well, now lets look into the front page of yesterday's New York Times. In it is a statement by the Defense Department that their regulations affecting discharges other than honorable are being modified. This modification is taking place in the light of a report by Mr. Roland Watts which the Fund for the Republic climaxed.

"Now lets stop here, just long enough to dispose of that one. I made official inquiry of the Defense Department this afternoon as to whether the Roland Watts' study, financed by the Fund for the Republic was responsible for the change in discharge policies by the Department, and the Department spokesmen, after some digging around, said that it was not. He said the Department has had a study underway for months starting on its own volition and as far as he could find there was no evidence that anybody even knew that anybody by the name of Watts was making a study of the question for the Fund for the Republic or anybody else. That seems to demolish that.

"Now lets go back to Mr. Hutchins ballyhoo of last night once again. Picking up his quote "Lets go back a few days, Tuesday or Wednesday in New York Times. Mr. Brownell spoke to a committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York indicating that certain changes would be made in the security system. This committee of the Association of the Bar is financed by the Fund for the Republic. I made an official inquiry today from the Department of Justice about that one. I was informed that Mr. Brownell decided to recommend the security changes, after a long study by his own assistants, and the decision was made several weeks ago. It was admitted that the Hennings Subcommittee of the Senate probably did have some influence in hurrying up the Brownell study revision but it was pointed out that the project of the Association of the Bar in the City of New York supported by the Fund could not possibly have had any effect and did not for the simple reason that it has not made any recommendations or findings yet and indeed has not even come close to completing its investigation. Finally item number 3, and this demolishes itself, if you will take careful note of the wording of it, because it really doesn't bring anything at all. "Go back a few days more, the Public Education Association of New York produced a report on discrimination in the New York Schools. The Fund for the Republic contributed to the support of this project. Note that that does not even claim any accomplishment or results from the report and concedes that the Fund was merely one of several contributors who helped finance that project. Mr. Hutchins got in his hottest water however, at the hands of May Craig, veteran reporter, over a quotation by Mr. Hutchins that the issues of Loyalty and Security had been seized upon by unscrupulous

Memo to Mr.

September 21, 1955

politicians and used as a political weapon. It was a quotation taken from a book written by John Lord O'Brian, Washington Attorney, who Hutchins described as probably the leading lawyer in the United States. I have read the book and you may have the chance to make up your own opinion as to Mr. O'Brian's ability and soundness on another evening. Last night, however, this dictum comes thundering down from the mount with such authority that no one would dare question it. Anyway keeping himself in what he considered to be good company, Mr. Hutchins agreed with the statement. He gave it his blessing. Then followed the following colloquy Mrs. Craig: "Whom did you mean by unscrupulous politicians and selfish partisans?" Hutchins: "Well, I will take refuge in Mr. Eisenhower's statement that he does not care to indulge in personalities if I may be permitted to do so." Mrs. Craig: "Well, you made a general accusation like that, Sir. It seems to me." Hutchins: "I am sure that you know who they are, Mrs. Craig." May Craig: "Do you mean Vice President Nixon and Attorney General Brownell?" Hutchins: "I am sure you know." May Craig: "You do make general accusations without particularizing them?" Hutchins: "Well, I'm sure that you know who they are Mrs. Craig." May Craig: "I thought you criticized that sort of a thing?" Hutchins: "What sort of thing?" May Craig: "Making general accusations without being particular." At that point with Mr. Hutchins painfully embarrassed and thoroughly backed up against the wall the moderator took mercy on him and took the questioning away from Mrs. Craig. So the great Robert Maynard Hutchins, the boy wonder, the brilliant educator, the super liberal, with fifteen million dollars in Ford Foundation money, to spend as whim of the moment dictates, does his stuff for the Nation's radio and television audience, and a worst performance on radio or television has seldom been perpetrated on the public. It was a sort of an incredible sort of total suicide, the explosion of a myth about a man, and the explosion left the man a rather sadly defunct individual. For your information I've been working on the background of Mr. Robert M. Hutchins on a research basis for some time. Some night very soon we'll take up some of the things he has said in his profound exhortations, his pearls of wisdom, see whether he is the great high priest of intellectualism or whether on the contrary he is a conceited expert who plies the stock and trade of coining catch phrases that are not sound or true for the purpose of dazzling some gullible customers and then drawing their applause. In other words just phoney.

The Fund for the Republic has spent huge sums in having copies made of Ed Murrow's interview with J. Robert Oppenheimer in his program on so called book burning in California. It seems most appropriate therefore, that the Fund should do the same with the kinescope of last night's appearance of his on "Meet the Press." Mr. Henry Ford II, is out of the country, after all, couldn't have the opportunity of seeing his wonder boy perform last night, so the first print should go to him; thereafter, the other prints could be shown far and wide and over the nation. That would be a real constructive expenditure by the Fund.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. ROSEN

November 21, 1955

FROM : F. L. PRICE

SUBJECT: ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
President, Fund for the Republic
MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-79 BY 88257

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The television program "Meet the Press" for 11/20/55, was monitored by Supervisor Henry A. Fitzgibbon. Appearing on the program was Robert M. Hutchins, former President of the University of Chicago, and currently President of the Fund for the Republic. Hutchins was questioned by the panel of the "Meet the Press" program concerning the aims and purposes of the Fund for the Republic.

Hutchins stated the Fund for the Republic is an educational establishment whose purpose is to educate Americans concerning their civil liberties.

Members of the TV panel endeavored to draw-out Hutchins concerning the question would he hire a member of the Communist Party in connection with the work of the Fund for the Republic. Hutchins avoided a direct answer, stating that the American way is to consider a person and his qualifications in connection with his employment. Hutchins stated Communism is a serious menace to civil liberties and that in this regard Professor Rossiter, employed by the Fund, is conducting a study concerning the effects of Communism in the U.S. In response to a question Hutchins stated that Professor Rossiter is paying Earl Browder for information he has furnished that will be used in the study of the effects of Communism in the U.S.

In response to a question, Hutchins indicated he would welcome a congressional investigation of the Fund. Hutchins indicated some officials of the American Legion are opposing the aims and purposes of the Fund. He indicated this was due to politics within the American Legion.

Hutchins indicated that according to a New York Times story, date unspecified, AG Brownell indicated to reporters in New York that changes will be made in the security setup of the Federal Government. Hutchins indicated he attributed Mr. Brownell's action, in part at least, to a study made by the Fund.

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* For Criminal Section Matters.

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FROM
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INFORMATION
OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Official indicated below by check mark

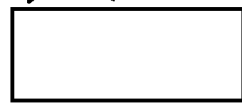
Fund for the Republic

MEMORANDUM

Attorney General
Deputy Attorney General
Solicitor General
Executive Assistant to the Attorney General
Assistant Attorney General, Anti-Trust
Assistant Attorney General, Tax
Assistant Attorney General, Civil
Assistant Attorney General, Lands
Assistant Attorney General, Criminal
Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel
Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security
Administrative Assistant Attorney General
Accounts Branch
Records Administration Branch
Personnel Branch
Procurement Section
Transcription Section
Director, FBI
Assistant to the Director - Room 5640
Director of Prisons
Director, Office of Alien Property
Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization
Pub. Info., Immigration and Naturalization
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UD NEW YORK NY 21 142PME

FULTON LEWIS JR

1627 K ST NORTHWEST WASHDC

NOVEMBER 20, 1955

FULL TEXT

MEET THE PRESS AT 6:00 P.M. OVER WRCA-TV (N.Y.)

AND THE NBC TELEVISION NETWORK:

ANNOUNCER: "PAN AMERICAN, WORLD'S MOST EXPERIENCED AIRLINE,
PRESENTS MEET THE PRESS. OUR GUEST ON MEET THE PRESS, LADIES
AND GENTLEMEN, IS ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, PRESIDENT OF THE FUND
FOR THE REPUBLIC."

5 STARS

MR. HUTCHINS WAS SHOWN SEATED WITH NED BROOKS FACING THE
NEWS PANEL.

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, MEET THE PRESS, THE PRIZE
WINNING PROGRAM PRODUCED BY LAWRENCE SPIVAK. READY FOR THIS
SPONTANEOUS, UNREHEARSED CONFERENCE ARE FOUR OF AMERICA'S TOP
REPORTERS. THEIR QUESTIONS, PLEASE REMEMBER, DO NOT NECESSARILY
REFLECT THEIR POINT OF VIEW; IT'S THEIR WAY OF GETTING A STORY
FOR YOU. HERE IS THE MODERATOR OF MEET THE PRESS, MR. NED BROOKS."
BROOKS: "WELCOME ONCE AGAIN TO MEET THE PRESS. OUR GUEST
THIS EVENING IS MR. ROBERT HUTCHINS, THE PRESIDENT OF THE FUND
FOR THE REPUBLIC. THE FUND WAS AUTHORIZED BY THE TRUSTEES OF THE
FORD FOUNDATION IN 1951, ITS PURPOSE TO PROMOTE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING
OF CIVIL LIBERTIES. IT WAS FINANCED BY A GRANT OF

OF CIVIL LIBERTIES. IT WAS FINANCED BY A GRANT OF
\$15,000,000 FROM THE FOUNDATION, HOWEVER ITS POLICIES AND ITS
OBJECTIVES ARE COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT OF THE FOUNDATION. SOME OF THE
MOST VIOLENT DEBATE OVER THE FUND'S ACTIVITIES HAS ORIGINATED ON

-2-

THE ISSUE OF COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES, ON THE STUDIES OF
THE LOYALTY SECURITY SYSTEM, AND ON THE WORK OF THE FUND IN RACE
RELATIONS, AND ON THE DISCUSSION GROUPS WHICH THE FUND HAS FINANCED
IN THE VARIOUS FIELDS OF CIVIL LIBERTIES. THESE ACTIVITIES HAVE
BROUGHT SOME CRITICAL REACTION FROM CERTAIN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS
AND FROM A FORMER NATIONAL COMMANDER OF THE AMERICAN LEGION.

"MR. HUTCHINS TOOK OVER THE PRESIDENCY OF THE FUND ABOUT
A YEAR AND A HALF AGO. HE IS THE FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. HIS REORGANIZATION PROGRAM THERE ATTRACTED
WIDE ATTENTION AMONG THE NATION'S EDUCATORS.

"AND NOW, SEATED AROUND THE PRESS TABLE, READY TO INTERVIEW
MR. HUTCHINS, ARE JAMES MCCONAUGHY OF TIME MAGAZINE, MAY CRAIG
OF THE PORTLAND, MAINE, PRESS HERALD, FRED WOLTMAN OF THE
NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM AND SUN, AND LAWRENCE SPIVAK, OUR REGULAR
MEMBER OF THE MEET THE PRESS PANEL. NOW, MR. HUTCHINGS,
IF YOU'RE READY, WE'LL START THE QUESTION WITH MR. SPIVAK."

(MORE)

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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NPC13/2 DPR COLL UD NYK FULTON LEWIS JR WASHDC XXX WITH MR. SPIVAK."

SPIVAK: "MR. HUTCHINS, SEABORN COLLINS, THE FORMER
NATIONAL COMMANDER OF THE AMERICAN LEGION HAS SAID THIS ABOUT YOU
AND THE FUND. FIRST, THAT YOU AND YOUR ASSOCIATES ARE TRYING TO
PROPAGANDIZE AMERICANS INTO BELIEVING THAT COMMUNISM NEVER HAS BEEN
AND IS NOT NOW A SERIOUS DANGER TO THIS COUNTRY. NOW, DO YOU
BELIEVE THAT COMMUNISM HAS BEEN AND IS NOW A SERIOUS DANGER TO THE
COUNTRY?"

HUTCHINS: "YES, I DO."

**WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM**

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

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TELEGRAM**

**WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM**

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CRAIG: "WELL, THE PRESENT COMMANDER JUST SAID LAST THURSDAY THAT YOUR FUND IS GIVING COMFORT TO THE ENEMIES OF AMERICA -- THE PRESENT COMMANDER. YOU'RE A MEMBER OF THE LEGION.

ARE YOU NOT?"

HUTCHINS: "YES, I AM."

CRAIG: "AND HAVE RECEIVED AN AWARD FROM THEM."

HUTCHINS: ~~XXXX~~ " I DID FROM OUR CHICAGO POST 170."

CRAIG: "YES, AND FROM THE AMVETS."

HUTCHINS: "NO. I DID FROM THE WASHINGTON CHAPTER OF THE AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE."

CRAIG: "YES. WELL, WILL YOU EXPLAIN TO ME WHY IT IS THAT THE AMERICAN LEGION IS SO VIOLENTLY OPPOSED TO WHAT YOU DO IN YOUR ORGANIZATION?"

HUTCHINS: "I CAN ONLY CONCLUDE THAT THE KINGMAKERS OF THE AMERICAN LEGION DO NOT UNDERSTAND IT. AND I ALSO BELIEVE THAT THERE IS A SPLIT IN THE AMERICAN LEGION BETWEEN THE RANK AND FILE AND THOSE WHO CONTROL THE HEADQUARTERS IN INDIANAPOLIS. I BELIEVE THAT, RATHER THAN FIGHT THE OPPOSITION WITHIN THE LEGION, THOSE WHO CONTROL THE HEADQUARTERS AT INDIANAPOLIS ARE ATTACKING THE FUND BECAUSE THE FUND SUPPORTED THE AMERICANISM PROGRAM OF THE ILLINOIS DEPARTMENT OF THE AMERICAN LEGION, UNDER

-4-

THE COMMANDERSHIP OF IRVING BREAKSTONE."

CRAIG: "WELL, MR. HUTCHINS, THE NEW COMMANDER ALSO CRITICIZES YOU FOR HIRING A MAN WHO ONLY THREE WEEKS BEFORE YOU HIRED HIM HAD REFUSED TO TELL A SENATE COMMITTEE WHETHER HE HAD BEEN A COMMUNIST AND HAD TAKEN THE FIFTH AMENDMENT. NOW, WHY DO YOU HIRE PEOPLE LIKE THAT?"

HUTCHINS: "WE HIRED THE INDIVIDUAL REFERRED TO BECAUSE WE NEEDED HIM, AND WE DID NOT CONCLUDE THAT, BECAUSE HE HAD AVAILED HIMSELF OF HIS CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, HE WAS UNQUALIFIED FOR THE POST. AFTER ALL, THE FIFTH AMENDMENT IS A PART OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS."

CRAIG: "I BELIEVE YOU SAID THAT YOU WOULD HIRE QUALIFIED PEOPLE, BUT YOU WOULD WATCH THEM TO SEE THEY DID THE JOB RIGHT. DID YOU SAY THAT?"

(MORE)

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NPC13/3 DPR COLL UD NYK LEWIS JR WASHDC X X X SAY THAT?"

HUTCHINS: "I SAID SOMETHING OF THE SORT, YES."

CRAIG: "YOU FORGET THAT WE WEREN'T VERY GOOD AT WATCHING ALGER HISS AND HARRY DEXTER WHITE, AND THE BRITISH HAD BURGESS AND MCLEAN. CAN'T YOU GET ANY QUALIFIED PEOPLE WHO 'AREN'T FIFTH AMENDMENT?"

HUTCHINS: "OH, WE HAVE A GREAT MANY. AND THE ITEM TO WHICH YOU REFER AND TO WHICH THE COMMANDER REFERRED HAS BEEN BLOWN UP OUT OF ALL PROPORTION TO ITS SIGNIFICANCE. THE INDIVIDUAL REFERRED TO WAS HIRED ON A TEMPORARY BASIS TO WORK PART-TIME DURING THE RUSH SEASON."

BROOKS: "MR. WOLTMAN."

WOLTMAN: "DR. HUTCHINS, AS A MATTER OF FACT, YOU SAID A FEW WEEKS AGO IN NEW YORK THAT YOU WOULD NOT HESITATE TO HIRE A MEMBER -- A PRESENT MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO WORK FOR THE FUND, DID YOU NOT?"

HUTCHINS: "THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC IS COMMITTED TO THE PROPOSITION THAT COMMUNISM..."

WOLTMAN: "WILL YOU ANSWER THE QUESTION?"

HUTCHINS: "I AM GOING TO. THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC IS COMMITTED TO THE PROPOSITION THAT COMMUNISM IS A MENACE. THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC IS ALSO COMMITTED TO INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS. THE FUND HAS CONDEMNED BOYCOTTING AND BLACKLISTING, IT HAS INSISTED ON DUE PROCESS AND THE EQUAL PROTECTION

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OF THE LAWS; IT HAS CONDEMNED GUILT BY ASSOCIATION. THE PRINCIPLE IS THAT THE INDIVIDUAL STANDS ON HIS OWN MERITS."

WOLTMAN: "WOULD YOU MIND ANSWERING THE QUESTION?"

HUTCHINS: "THIS IS A PRINCIPLE THAT WAS ENUNCIATED VERY OFTEN BY THE LATE SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT. THEREFORE, WHAT I WAS SIMPLY TRYING TO DO, IN MY ANSWER TO THE QUESTION TO WHICH YOU REFER WAS TO DRAMATIZE THE PROPOSITION THAT THE INDIVIDUAL MUST

BE JUDGED ON HIS INDIVIDUAL MERITS."

WOLTMAN: "WOULD YOU ALSO HIRE A NAZI OR A FASCIST OR KU KLUX KLANNER?"

HUTCHINS: "THIS QUESTION IS A REAL FLYING SAUCER; SO WAS THE OTHER ONE."

WOLTMAN: "WELL, YOU DIDN'T ANSWER IT."

HUTCHINS: "OH, I BEG YOUR PARDON, I DID."

WOLTMAN: "YOU WOULD ALSO HIRE A NAZI OR..."

HUTCHINS: "NO, I DIDN'T SAY THAT I WOULD. I SAID THAT THE GREAT QUESTION..."

WOLTMAN: "I'M SORRY, I THOUGHT YOU SAID YOU WOULD HIRE A COMMUNIST."

HUTCHINS: "I SAID THAT THE GREAT QUESTION ALWAYS IS, WHAT IS THE INDIVIDUAL IN HIMSELF? THIS IS THE AMERICAN PRINCIPLE."

WOLTMAN: "WILL YOU CONFIRM..."

HUTCHINS: "AND THEREFORE THE QUESTION CANNOT BE ANSWERED. THE QUESTION IS, WHAT IS THIS INDIVIDUAL, WHAT IS THIS JOB THAT YOU WISH HIM TO UNDERTAKE?"

WOLTMAN: "DO YOU BELIEVE WITH THE SUPREME COURT THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS A CONSPIRACY TO OVERTHROW OUR DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT?"

HUTCHINS: "I CERTAINLY DO."

WOLTMAN: "SO IF A PERSON ARRIVED IN YOUR OFFICE WHO WAS A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, A KNOWN MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, YOU WOULD DISREGARD THAT?"

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HUTCHINS: "NOT AT ALL, NOT AT ALL; THIS IS AN ABSOLUTELY RELEVANT FACT. THE QUESTION REMAINS -- YOU ARE PERFECTLY FAMILIAR WITH THE ENORMOUS NUMBER OF VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS THAT THERE ARE IN THE UNITED STATES, YOU'RE PERFECTLY FAMILIAR WITH THE ENORMOUS, INFINITE NUMBER OF GRADUATIONS IN MEMBERSHIP AND KNOWLEDGE OF THE PURPOSES OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS. I MERELY SAY THAT THE THEORETICAL -- THE FLYING SAUCER THAT YOU HAVE HURLED DOES NOT DECIDE ANY QUESTIONS BECAUSE THE ULTIMATE ISSUE IS WHAT IS THIS INDIVIDUAL IN HIMSELF. THIS IS THE AMERICAN PRINCIPLE."

(MORE)

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NPC13/4 DPR COLL UD NYK LEWIS JR WASHDC X X X AMERICAN PRINCIPLE."

WOLTMAN: "WOULD YOU STILL SAY WHETHER YOU WOULD HIRE A MEMBER-- KNOWINGLY HIRE A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY?"

HUTCHINS: "I SAY THAT YOU CAN'T -- THIS QUESTION, THIS KIND OF QUESTION, CANNOT BE ANSWERED IN THOSE TERMZ."

WOLTMAN: "WELL, SIR YOU WERE QUOTED IN MOST OF -- IN MANY OF THE NEWSPAPERS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY TO THAT EFFECT SEVERAL WEEKS."

HUTCHINS: "I SAW THAT AND I..."

WOLTMAN: "AND YOU MADE NO DENIAL. DO YOU DENY THAT YOU SAID THAT."

HUTCHINS: "I DO NOT REGARD THE HEADLINES AN ACCURATE DESCRIPTION, EITHER OF WHAT I SAID OR WHAT I HAVE IN MIND."

WOLTMAN: "THEN YOU MADE NO CHALLENGE WHATSOEVER OF THE NEW YORK TIMES OR THE NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE, THE PRESS ASSOCIATIONS, OR THE WORLD TELEGRAM AND SUN?"

HUTCHINS: "WELL, IF I WERE TO INVOLVE MYSELF IN COMMENTING ON ALL THE NEWSPAPERS REPORTS, I WOULD HAVE A GOOD DEAL TO DO."

WOLTMAN: "WELL, I HEARD YOU SAY IT, FOR ONE."

BROOKS: "MR. MCCONAUGHY."

HUTCHINS: "I THINK YOU RECALL THE CIRCUMSTANCES, THEN."

MCCONAUGHY: "MR. HUTCHINS, I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU ABOUT ANOTHER HUTCHINS QUOTE, IF I MAY. THIS CONCERNS THE CASE OF MARY KNOWLES."

HUTCHINS: "RIGHT."

MCCONAUGHY: "...WHO, AS YOU WILL RECALL, WAS ACCUSED OF

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HAVING BEEN A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND REFUSED TO ANSWER QUESTIONS CONCERNING THIS, PUT BY A SENATE COMMITTEE, WAS FIRED FROM HER JOB IN MASSACHUSETTS AND HIRED BY A LITTLE TOWN IN PENNSYLVANIA. AND YOUR FUND GAVE THE TOWN, PLYMOUTH MEETING, \$5,000. I UNDERSTAND THEY'VE NOT YET MADE UP THEIR MIND WHETHER

TO ACCEPT IT OR NOT.

HUTCHINS: "FORGIVE ME-- IT WAS NOT THE TOWN; IT WAS THE
QUAKER MEETING."

MCCONAUGHY: "I BEG YOUR PARDON, SIR."

HUTCHINS: "AND THE LIBRARY BOARD HAS A LIBRARIAN WHOM THEY WERE BEING CHIVIED INTO FIRING."

MCCONAUGHY: "AND I THINK YOU SAID, 'I HOPE THAT PLYMOUTH MEETING'S EXAMPLE WILL BE FOLLOWED ELSEWHERE.' IS THAT CORRECT?"

HUTCHINS: "HM-HM."

MCCONAUGHY: "YOU STILL HOPE SO?"

HUTCHINS: "HM-HM."

MCCONAUGHY: "DOES THIS MEAN THAT OTHER FIFTH AMENDERS YOU HOPE TO SEE HIRED ELSEWHERE BY SIMILAR LIBRARIES?"

HUTCHINS: "NO".

MCCONAUGHY: "DOES IT MEAN THAT CONGRESS HAD NO RIGHT TO INTERROGATE THIS WOMAN?"

HUTCHINS: "NOT AT ALL, NOT AT ALL."

MCCONAUGHY: "WELL, WHAT DOES IT MEAN?"

HUTCHINS: "AS I INDICATED, THE BOARD OF THE FUND FOR THE
REPUBLIC HAS GONE ON RECORD AGAINST BLACKLISTING. IT HAS USED
ALMOST THE WORDS USED BY SENATOR HENNING'S THAT APPEARED IN THE
NEW YORK TIMES YESTERDAY, THAT A MAN SHOULD NOT BE DEPRIVED OF
HIS LIVELIHOOD OR REPUTATION WITHOUT DUE PROCESS OF LAW. AND THE
FUND MADE THIS AWARD BECAUSE THIS QUAKER MEETING HAD DECLINED
TO DISCHARGE A WOMAN WHOM THEY REGARDED AS A QUALIFIED FOR THE POST
BECAUSE OF OUTSIDE PRESSURE."

MC CONAUGHY: "AND THE FACT THAT SHE REFUSED TO COOPERATE, I THINK THREE TIMES -- FIFTH AMENDMENT, FIRST AMENDMENT, AND IT'S

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NPC13/5 DPR COLL UD NYK LEWIS JR WASHDC X X X WANTS HIM."

MCCONAUGHY: "WELL, YOU RATHER TAKE THE CONTRARY VIEW, DON'T YOU SIR? YOU APPLAUD IT. YOU GIVE \$5,000 TO PLYMOUTH MEETING BECAUSE IT'S WONDERFUL. HERE'S A FIFTH AMENDER, YOU HIRED HIM, HURRAY."

HUTCHINS: "WE THOUGHT THAT THE PLYMOUTH MEETING HAS EXHIBITED COURAGE IN RETAINING AN EMPLOYEE WHOM THEY WANTED TO RETAIN AGAINST PRESSURE FROM OUTSIDE."

BROOKS: "MR. SPIVAK."

SPIVAK: "WELL, MR. HUTCHINS, WHEN YOU HIRE SOMEBODY DO YOU CONSIDER HIS QUALIFICATIONS?"

HUTCHINS: "CERTAINLY."

SPIVAK: "WELL, NOW, WOULD THE FACT THAT HE IS A COMMUNIST NOT DISQUALIFY HIM FOR HIRING..."

HUTCHINS: "YES..."

SPIVAK: "MAY I FINISH. HIRING HIM FOR A FUND THAT IS OSTENSIBLY FIGHTING COMMUNIS. WOULD THAT NOT DISQUALIFY HIM?"

HUTCHINS: "JUST THINK HOW THEORETICAL THIS SAUCER BECOMES. HERE IS THE CASE OF MR. EARL BROWDER, WHICH HAS ACQUIRED A GREAT DEAL OF PUBLICITY. THE FUND'S ENGAGED IN, AS I SAY, IN WHAT WE HOPE WILL BE THE DEFINITIVE STUDY OF WHAT COMMUNISM IS IN THE UNITED STATES. NOW, PROFESSOR ROSSITER, WHO WAS IN CHARGE OF THE STUDY, WAS GIVEN COMPLETE AUTHORITY TO RECRUIT THE STAFF HE WANTED. AND OF COURSE EVERYTHING THAT PROFESSOR ROSSITER SAYS IN THE STUDY WILL BE SAID BY HIM AND HIS ASSOCIATES, AND NOT BY THE FUND. WE HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH IT. NOW, MR. ROSSITER CAME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT MR. BROWDER HAD SOMETHING TO OFFER, AND SO HE HAS OCCASIONALLY MADE PAYMENTS TO MR. BROWDER IN RETURN FOR INFORMATION THAT HE HAS RECEIVED FROM HIM. THIS IS A -- I DON'T KNOW WHETHER MR. BROWDER IS A COMMUNIST OR NOT; I ASSUME THAT HE IS. HE IS RECEIVING MONEY THAT A PROJECT DIRECTOR FROM THE FUND

HAS PAID HIM. AND THIS IS SIMPLY AN INDICATION THAT THIS BROAD GENERALIZATION, 'YOU WON'T HIRE ANYBODY WHO HAS EVER BEEN ANYTHING,' IS SOMETHING THAT REQUIRES SOME QUALIFICATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE INDIVIDUAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE INDIVIDUAL CASE."

SPIVAK: "WELL, WE'LL COME TO THAT; WE'LL COME TO THE BROWDER CASE IN A MINUTE. BUT I'M TALKING NOW ABOUT HIRING HIM FOR A GENERAL JOB WHICH ISN'T TO FIND OUT WHAT HE KNOWS ABOUT COMMUNISM. SUPPOSE HE IS A PRESS AGENT, OR SUPPOSE HE IS A RESEARCHER, SUPPOSE HE'S ANYTHING OF A NUMBER OF THINGS, BUT VERY QUALIFIED -- IF HE WERE A COMMUNIST WOULD YOU -- WOULD THAT DISQUALIFY HIM?"

HUTCHINS: "I THINK I'VE SAID EVERYTHING THAT NEEDS TO BE SAID TO COVER THIS QUESTION."

SPIVAK: "I DON'T THINK IT'S QUITE CLEAR, MR. HUTCHINS."

(MORE)

342PMEST

NPC13/6 DPR COLL UD NYK LEWIS JR. WASHDC X X X CLEAR, MR. HUTCHINS."

HUTCHINS: "WELL, THE QUESTION IS WHETHER YOU ARE GOING TO BLACKLIST PEOPLE. NOW, I DON'T CARE TO BLACKLIST PEOPLE."

I WOULD ASSUME THAT IN ONCE-- IN ONE CASE OUT OF A THOUSAND THIS ISSUE MIGHT CONCEIVABLY ARISE. THE PURELY HYPOTHETICAL NATURE OF THE QUESTION IS REVEALED BY THE FACT THAT, APART FROM THE BROWDER EPISODE, WHICH IS INDIRECT AND WHICH DID NOT PUT ON THE PAYROLL OF THE FUND, IT HAS NEVER ACTUALLY ARISEN."

SPIVAK: "NO, NO, BUT YOU WERE QUOTED AS SAYING THAT IF A COMMUNIST WERE QUALIFIED, YOU WOULD HIRE HIM. NOW, THE QUESTION I AM ASKING YOU THAT I'D LIKE TO GET CLEAR WAS THAT, IF HE WERE VERY QUALIFIED AS A CLERK, AS A SECRETARY, AS A PUBLIC

HUTCHINS: " I REPLY AS I HAVE SEVERAL TIMES, THAT I THINK
THAT PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BLACKLISTED. NOW, THE QUESTION OF..."

HUTCHINS: "BLACKLISTING IS GUILT BY ASSOCIATIONS..."

HUTCHINS: " YES, BUT YOUR HYPOTHESIS- THE NATURE OF YOUR

--10--

HYPOTHESIS IS REVEALED BY THE SUGGESTION THAT YOU'RE ASSUMING
THAT THE ONLY THING AGAINST THIS MAN..."

SPIVAK: "THE ONLY THING AGAINST THIS MAN IS THAT HE IS A COMMUNIST, AS ABLE AS HE COULD BE."

HUTCHINS: " YOU ARE PERFECTLY AWARE OF THE INFINITE GRADATIONS IN WHAT CONSTITUTES BEING A COMMUNIST."

SPIVAK: "AND YOU WOULD HIRE HIM IN AN ORGANIZATION THAT IS FIGHTING COMMUNISM?"

HUTCHINS: "I ADMIRE -- I GREATLY ADMIRE YOUR PERSISTENCE,
MR. SPIVAK."

SPIVAK: "I JUST WANT TO CLARIFY..."

HUTCHINS: "I MERELY SAY THAT THIS IS A MATTER FOR DECISION
IN THE INDIVIDUAL CASE -- WHAT INDIVIDUAL AND FOR WHAT INDIVIDUAL
JOB."

SPIVAK: "WELL, NOW, MR. HUTCHINS, I BELIEVE THAT THE WORLD, 'COMMUNIST,' HAS COME TO MEAN TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE A CONSPIRATOR, ONE WHO WOULD DESTROY OUR SYSTEM, A LIAR-- IN SHORT, A MAN WHO IS NOT TO BE TRUSTED. NOW..."

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HUTCHINS: "IF THERE IS SUCH..."

SPIVAK: "DO YOU AGREE WITH..."

HUTCHINS: "IF THE INDIVIDUAL IS SUCH A MAN, I WOULD NOT HIRE HIM."

SPIVAK: "BUT IF HE IS A COMMUNIST, DO YOU ASSUME THAT ALL OF THAT IS WRAPPED UP IN IT OR NOT?"

HUTCHINS: "I DO NOT THINK THAT MEMBERSHIP IN AN ORGANIZATION IS EQUALLY INTENSE, EQUALLY KNOWLEDGEABLE, EQUALLY CULPABLE ON THE PART OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL. WHAT THIS QUESTION AMOUNTS TO IS THIS: IS IT CONCEIVABLE THAT YOU COULD POSSIBLE THAT IN ANY CAPACITY AT ANY TIME AN INDIVIDUAL WHO BELONGED TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY WOULD -- COULD POSSIBLY BE ASSOCIATED WITH ANY ENTERPRISE WITH WHICH YOU'RE CONNECTED? WELL, I DON'T SEE HOW YOU AN SAY THAT SUCH A CONCLUSION IS ABSOLUTELY INCONCEIVABLE..."

SPIVAK: "WOULD YOU HIRE..."

HUTCHINS: "...ANY MORE THAN YOU CAN SAY THAT A THOUSAND-TO-

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ONE SHOT IS ABSOLUTELY INCONCEIVABLE. SOME SUCH HORSES HAVE WON."

BROOKS: "MR. WOLTMAN."

WOLTMAN: "AS A MATTER OF FACT, DR. HUTCHINS, WHAT YOU SAID IN THIS PRESS CONFERENCE, THE PREVIOUS ONE I REFERRED TO, WAS THAT YOU WOULD HIRE A COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBER IF HE WERE QUALIFIED AND IF YOU COULD KEEP AN EYE ON HIM. DO YOU REMEMBER THAT?"

(MORE)

354PMEST

NPC13/7 DPR COLL UD NYK LEWIS JR WASHDC X X X REMEMBER TH5?"

HUTCHINS: "OH, YES, I REMEMBER IT."

WOLTMAN: "WHICH MEANT THAT YOU WOULD HAVE RESERVATIONS AS TO HIS HONESTY, THAT AS A COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBER YOU KNEW THAT HIS LOYALTY WAS FIRST TO THE PARTY AND THAT YOU'D HAVE TO KEEP AN EYE ON HIM AND POLICE HIM."

HUTCHINS: "WELL, MR. WOLTMAN, THIS PRESS CONFERENCE LASTED

EYE ON HIM AND POLICE HIM."

HUTCHINS: "WELL, MR. WOLTMAN, THIS PRESS CONFERENCE LASTED TWO HOURS, AND THIS QUESTION IS TAKEN OUT OF CONTEXT. AS I SAID, WHAT I WAS TRYING TO DO WAS TO DRAMATIZE THE FACT THAT THE FUND IS OPPOSED TO BLACKLISTING; IT IS OPPOSED TO GUILT BY ASSOCIATION; IT IS IN FAVOR OF DUE PROCESS AND THE EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAWS."

WOLTMAN: "MAY I ASK ONE MORE QUESTION? WHY WOULD YOU HIRE HIM IF YOU HAD TO KEEP AN EYE ON HIM?"

HUTCHINS: "THIS INDICATES ONCE MORE THE HIGHLY INDIVIDUAL NATURE, BOTH OF EMPLOYMENT AND OF PEOPLE."

WOLTMAN: "AND HIRING THEM."

BROOKS: "MRS. CRAIG."

CRAIG: "MR. HUTCHINS, IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS I'VE BEEN TO POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND I'VE JUST COME BACK FROM GUATEMALA, AND THEY WOULDN'T APPRECIATE YOUR DRAMATIZING COMMUNISTS; THEY KNOW WHAT THEY'RE LIKE."

HUTCHINS: "THIS IS NOT, MAY I SAY, WHAT I WAS TALKING ABOUT. I WAS NOT SUGGESTING DRAMATIZING COMMUNISM. I SAID THAT THE FUND IS INTERESTED IN TWO THINGS: IT IS INTERESTED IN FREEDOM AND JUSTICE. NOW, THE FUND DOES NOT REGARD AS JUST, BLACKLISTING OR GUILT BY ASSOCIATION. THE FUND TAKES ITS STAND ON DUE PROCESS OF LAW. AND THAT'S ALL THERE IS TO IT."

CRAIG: "WELL, SIR, IN A RECENT SPEECH YOU SAID THAT THE ISSUES OF LOYALTY AND SECURITY HAVE BEEN SEIZED UPON BY UNSCRUPULOUS

-12--

POLITICIANS AND USED AS A POLITICAL WEAPON."

HUTCHINS: "I BEG YOUR PARDON; MR. JOHN WARD O'BRIEN SAID THAT AND I QUOTED HIM."

CRAIG: "YES. YOU AGREED WITH HIM."

HUTCHINS: "MR. JOHN WARD O'BRIEN..."

CRAIG: "YOU SAID SUCH PEOPLE -- YOU DID AGREE WITH HIM IN THE SPEECH."

HUTCHINS: "MR. JOHN WARD O'BRIEN IS PROBABLY THE LEADING LAWYER OF THE UNITED STATES AND HIS BOOK IS ONE THAT EVERYBODY SHOULD READ. AND MR. O'BRIEN MADE THIS STATEMENT AND I DO

SHOULD READ, AND MR. O'BRYEN MADE THIS STATEMENT AND I DO
AGREE WITH HIM."

CRAIG: "YES, SIR, I HAVE IT HERE AND I SEE THAT YOU DID
AGREE WITH HIM. WHOM DID YOU MEAN BY UNSCRUPULOUS POLITICIANS
AND SELFISH PARTISANS?"

HUTCHINS: "WELL, I WILL TAKE REFUSE IN MR. EISENHOWER'S
STATEMENT THAT HE DOES NOT CARE TO INDULGE IN PERSONALITIES,
IF I MAY BE PERMITTED TO DO SO."

CRAIG: "WELL, YOU MAKE A GENERAL ACCUSATION LIKE THAT,
SIR; IT SEEMS TO ME..."

(MORE)

401 PMEST

NPC13/8 DPR COLL UD NYK LEWIS JR WASHDC X X X TO ME ..."

HUTCHINS: "I'M SURE THAT YOU KNOW WHO THEY ARE, MRS. CRAIG."

CRAIG: "DO YOU MEAN VICE PRESIDENT NIXON AND ATTORNEY GENERAL
BROWNELL?"

HUTCHINS: "I'M SURE YOU KNOW."

CRAIG: "YOU DO MAKE GENERAL ACCUSATIONS WITHOUT PARTICULARIZING THEM?"

HUTCHINS: "WELL, I'M SURE YOU KNOW WHO THEY ARE, MRS.

CRAIG."

CRAIG: "I THOUGHT YOU CRITICIZED THAT SORT OF THING."

HUTCHINS: "WHAT SORT OF THING?"

CRAIG: "MAKING GENERAL ACCUSATIONS WITHOUT BEING PARTICULAR."

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BROOKS: "MR. MCCONAUGHY."

MCCONAUGHY: "MR. HUTCHINS, THERE SEEMS TO BE SOME
POSSIBILITY OF ANOTHER CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION OF THE FUND FOR
THE REPUBLIC."

HUTCHINS: "THERE NEVER HAS BEEN ONE, MR. MCCONAUGHY."

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HUTCHINS: "THERE NEVER HAS BEEN ONE, MR. MCCONAUGHY."

MCCONAUGHY: "WELL, INVOLVING THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, LET ME PUT IT THAT WAY."

HUTCHINS: "DO YOU MEAN YOU THINK THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF A CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION THAT WOULD INVOLVE THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC?"

MCCONAGHY: "WOULD YOU WELCOME IT?"

HUTCHINS: "I WOULD WELCOME AN INVESTIGATION, YES.

THE ONES THAT I HAVE ATTENDED, I HAVE FELT THAT THEY WERE A CONSIDERABLE INVESTMENT OF TIME, BUT IF IT'S NECESSARY OR DESIRABLE IN ORDER TO EXPLAIN THE PURPOSES OF THE FUND IN THAT FORM, I WOULD BE GLAD..."

MCCONAUGHY: "YOU THINK IT IS NECESSARY AND DESIRABLE AND WOULD WELCOME A CONGRESSION..."

HUTCHINS: "I BEG YOUR PARDON?"

MCCONAUGHY: "DO YOU THINK IT..."

HUTCHINS: "NO."

MCCONAUGHY: "YOU WOULD WELCOME A CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION?"

HUTCHINS: "I WOULD WELCOME A CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION, BUT I WOULD NOT THINK IT WAS EITHER NECESSARY OR DESIRABLE."

MCCONAUGHY: "DO YOU THINK THE FUND IS DOING A GOOD JOB? HOW DO YOU-- WHAT YARDSTICK DO YOU USE?"

HUTCHINS: "I THINK THAT THE FUND -- WELL, NOW, LET'S LOOK AT THE FRONT PAGE OF YESTERDAY'S NEW YORK TIMES. IN IT IS A STATEMENT-- IN THAT FRONT PAGE IS A STATEMENT BY THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT THAT THEIR REGULATIONS AFFECTING DISCHARGES OTHER THAN HONORABLE ARE BEING MODIFIED. THIS MODIFICATION HAS TAKEN PLACE IN THE LIGHT OF A REPORT BY MR. ROLAND WATTS, WHICH THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC FINANCED. LET'S GO BACK A FEW DAYS TO TUESDAY'S

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OR WEDNESDAY'S NEW YORK TIMES. MR. BROWNELL SPOKE TO A COMMITTEE OF THE ASSOCIATION OF THE BAR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, INDICATING THAT CERTAIN CHANGES WOULD BE MADE IN THE SECURITY SYSTEM. THIS

Investigation

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COMMITTEE OF THE ASSOCIATION OF THE BAR IS FINANCED BY THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC. GO BACK A FEW MORE DAYS. THE PUBLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK PRODUCED A REPORT ON DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION IN THE NEW YORK SCHOOLS. THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC CONTRIBUTED TO THE SUPPORT OF THIS REPORT."

(MORE)

414PME.

NPC13//9 DPR COLL UD NYK LEWIS JR WASHDC X X X THIS REPORT."

"NOW, ONE THIRD OF OUR MONEY -- AND THIS, OF COURSE, IS NEVER REFERRED TO. THIS CONVERSATION THAT WE HAVE HAD UP TO NOW ON THIS PRESS CONFERENCE OF THE AIR IS PERFECTLY CHARACTERISTIC. ONE THIRD OF OUR MONEY AND OUR LARGEST SINGLE GRANTS HAVE GONE INTO RACE RELATIONS. YOU NEVER HEAR THIS MENTIONED EXCEPT BY THE SMEAR PRESS!"
MCCONAUGHY: "I THINK I'VE HEARD IT MENTIONED IN THE SOUTH SIR."

HUTCHINS: "THAT'S WHAT I MEAN, BUT NOT BY -- NOT, I THINK, BY THE RESPONSIBLE NEWSPAPERS IN THE SOUTH."

BROOKS: "COULD I CLEAR UP ONE POINT, MR. HUTCHINS. I

BELIEVE YOU INDICATED SOME UNCERTAINTY ABOUT WHETHER EARL BROWDER SACTUALLY IS A COMMUNIST. OF COURSE, HE'S BEEN THE CANDIDATE FOR PKIN A CASE LIKE THAT, WOULD YOU

NOT MAKE SOME KIND OF AN INQUIRY AS TO WHETHER-- TO FASTEN DOWN THE FACT THAT HE IS?"

HUTCHINS: "THE QUESTION WAS, DID MR. BROWDER HAVE ANY INFORMATION THAT MR. ROSSITER WANTED TO HAVE."

BROOKS: "BUT YOU INDICATED SOME DOUBT AS TO..."

HUTCHINS: "WELL, ONCE MORE, THIS INDICATES JUST EXACTLY THE POSITION THAT I TAKE; THAT IT'S A QUESTION OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE INDIVIDUAL CASE."

THE POSITION THAT I TAKE, THAT I TAKE


THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE INDIVIDUAL CASE."

BROOKS: " MR. SPIVAK."

SPIVAK: "WHAT -- TO COME BACK TO BROWDER, WHAT WOULD YOU HOPE TO GET OUT OF BROWDER? HE'S REFUSED TO TELL THE TRUTH TO ANY OF OUR CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES. DOZENS OF US HAVE BEEN AT HIM AND HAVE TRIED TO GET THE TRUTH OF THE CONSPIRACY. WILL HE TELL YOU ANYTHING EXCEPT THAT HE'S TOLD US, AND THAT IS THAT THIS IS A POLITICAL PARTY."

HUTCHINS: " I'D BE GRATEFUL IF YOU'D CHANGE THE PRONOUN. MR. BROWDER IS NOT TALKING TO ME; HE IS TALKING WITH PROFESSOR

-15-

S  TER." "TO THE FUND."

HUTCHINS: "HE WAS TALKING TO PROFESSOR ROSSITER. PROFESSOR ROSSITER IS A COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT PROJECTER FINANCED BY THE FUND. NOW, MR. ROSSITER IS A TRAINED HISTORIAN, AND MR. ROSSITER WILL BE ABLE TO APPRAISE THE INFORMATION THAT MR. BROWDER GIVES HIM."

BROOKS: "I THINK I'LL HAVE TO BRING IT TO A CLOSE AT THAT POINT. I'M VERY SORRY TO HAVE TO INTERRUPT, BUT I SEE THAT OUR TIME IS UP. THANK YOU VERY MUCH, MR. HUTCHINS, FOR BEING WITH US."

5 STARS

ANNOUNCER: "GOOD BYE FOR MR. ROBERT MR. HUTCHINS AND MEET THE PRESS. NEXT WEEK, MEET THE PRESS WILL BE BROUGHT TO YOU BY JOHNS-MANVILLE MANUFACTURERS OF ASBESTOS PRODUCTS FOR HOME AND INDUSTRY. OUR GUEST WILL BE KRISHNA MENON, INDIA'S ROVING AMBASSADOR AND HEAD OF HER DELEGATION TO THE U.N.Z

FROM RADIO REPORTS INC
220 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK CITY NY

END PRESS
421 PME.

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NONE OF YOUR BUSINESS, WAS ONE OF HER ANSWERS--THREE TIMES WITH A COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS IS IRRELEVANT? DON'T YOU TAKE THAT INTO CONSIDERATION?"

HUTCHINS: "WE DO NOT TAKE THE VIEW THAT A PERSON WHO HAS
AVAILED HIMSELF OF HIS CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, WHO IS WANTED BY
HIS EMPLOYER ON THE JOB, SHOULD BE DRIVEN BY OUTSIDE PRESSURE
FROM THAT POST IF HIS EMPLOYER WANTS HIM."

(MORE)

425PME.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: November 22, 1955

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
 Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

The Central Research Section recently completed a 180-page monograph concerning the captioned organization which sets forth the results of a comprehensive and exhaustive review of Bufiles concerning the activities of this Fund. The monograph also reflects derogatory information concerning the organizations and individuals connected with the Fund as of 9-9-55.

Considerable information of a public and classified nature regarding the Fund is received by the Bureau daily. In view of the controversial nature of the Fund the Director is being informed of its pertinent activities and wherever appropriate the Attorney General is also advised. Excerpts of the pertinent information received regarding the Fund are being prepared and maintained by the Special Memoranda Unit of the Liaison Section for inclusion in a running memoranda file. It is believed advisable that the monograph prepared by the Central Research Section be used as basic information in the Fund Running Memoranda File. This File will thereafter be brought up to date every three months beginning January 1, 1956, to reflect the pertinent activities of the Fund since the preparation of the monograph. Information in the supplemental memoranda will be set forth under the pertinent captions and headings maintained in the monograph. The original of the Fund Running Memoranda File will thereafter be kept in the Director's office, and a copy will be maintained in the offices of Messrs. Nichols, Boardman and Belmont and in the Special Memoranda Unit of the Liaison Section. At the time of each revision, the Running Memoranda File will be obtained from these offices by the Special Memoranda Unit at which time the supplemental pages will be inserted.

ACTION:

(1) A running memoranda file will be maintained on the Fund for the Republic and if you approve, the monograph recently prepared by the Central Research Section will be used as the basic information in this file.

EX-126

(2) With your approval the Fund Running Memoranda File will be brought up to date as of 1-1-56 and every three months thereafter.

FCI:mlp:mer (7)
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - W. C. Sullivan
1 - sect. tick.
1 - Mr. Young

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/31/89 BY 60805 JAG

LIAISON

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: November 23, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

b6
 b7C

Joe Deeb told me that [redacted] who is a Ford dealer in Grand Rapids, Michigan, told him this morning that Robert Maynard Hutchins' contract expires with the Fund for the Republic on December 1 and it will not be renewed.

cc - Mr. Boardman
 cc - Mr. Belmont

LBN:ptm
 (4)

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 DATE 1/11/83 BY SP5 hq/vp

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI - ATTN: TRAINING AND INSPECTION DIVISION

DATE: November 21, 1955

FROM : SAC, CLEVELAND (80-217)

SUBJECT: TOLEDO POLICE DEPARTMENT
TOLEDO, OHIO
CIVIL RIGHTS - CIVIL LIBERTIES279638 279639
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-21-89 BY 83307128

~~Chief of Police RAY ALLEN~~, Toledo, Ohio, recently advised this office that during the past sixty days there have been various articles appearing in the "Toledo Times" newspaper dealing with "civil rights." According to Chief ALLEN these articles express the rights of a person upon being arrested and pointed out there have been many abuses by the police in certain cases.

Reprints of the "Toledo Times" articles have been placed in pamphlet form entitled "So You've Been Arrested." This pamphlet was prepared by [redacted] This pamphlet is being enclosed herewith for the information of the Bureau.

Chief ALLEN stated that shortly after the articles began to appear in the "Toledo Times" the Toledo Police Prosecutor's Office received notice from the Toledo City Law Department that new procedures would be placed into effect regarding arrests and confinements by the police. Chief ALLEN stated that he thereafter had a conference with [redacted] Assistant City Law Director, who informed him that there could be no "suspicious person" arrests in the future and that warrants would have to be obtained in all cases and a definite charge placed. Chief ALLEN stated that this procedure has been in effect for the month of October and thus far during the month of November and that it has had a very decided effect on the number of arrests the Toledo Police Department has made. He stated the number had declined approximately fifty per cent from the over-all average.

Continuing, Chief ALLEN stated that the morale of the Toledo Police Department was at an all time low ebb as a result of this matter. Chief ALLEN cited the case of a recent robbery where there were several suspects one of whom the police were sure was involved and it was impossible for the Toledo Police Department to arrest any of the suspect.

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(4)

Enclosures - (2) (RM)

RECORDED-68

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INDEXED-68

EX-100

DEC 3 1955

file 100-391697

FUND FOR THE PUBLIC

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FILED 100-391697-306

DIRECTOR, -FBI

for questioning after the refusal of the suspects to talk to the investigating officers. Chief ALLEN stated that numerous crimes in the City of Toledo were going unsolved because of the rigid rules now adopted by the Toledo Law Department.

Chief ALLEN stated the articles appearing in the "Toledo Times" undoubtedly were the basis for the action of the City Law Department and Chief ALLEN stated that the Law Department went "overboard" in their demands.

Chief ALLEN stated that he knew nothing detrimental regarding [redacted] of the articles, or Mr. [redacted] of the "Times" or [redacted] of the Toledo Law Department.

Continuing, Chief ALLEN stated that [redacted] had also been known as a "liberal" in his views pertaining to law enforcement and the legal profession. According to Chief ALLEN [redacted] suggested that the various law departments and the police departments furnish each person arrested by the Toledo Police Department a copy of the pamphlet "So You've Been Arrested."

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Chief ALLEN stated that at the recent annual convention of the Ohio Chiefs of Police in Cincinnati it was indicated that a committee would be formed to investigate this matter.

Continuing, Chief ALLEN stated that he recalled hearing from an unknown source that the Toledo Bar Association had received a \$10,000. grant which was to be used to defray expenses in making a survey of police methods in the Toledo area. It was the Chief's opinion that this grant had been received from the Ford Foundation.

A check of the files of the "Toledo Blade" newspaper did not reflect any articles were contained therein regarding the actual receipt of the \$10,000. grant.

Inspector [redacted], Toledo Police Department, advised that he had noted an editorial in the "Toledo Blade" under date of October 15, 1955. He stated that this editorial ridiculed the National Commander of the American Legion for urging Legion members to "have no truck with" activities sponsored by the Fund for the Republic.

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The following appeared in the above editorial:

100-391697-303

DIRECTOR, FBI

"We are not prepared to judge what kind of bargain the Legion (American) has struck in this trade. We are constrained to wonder if any members of the Toledo Bar Association who are also Legionnaires will feel they must resign from one or the other group because the Fund for the Republic has granted the local Bar Association \$10,000 to defend 'unpopular' causes and to study police and court procedures. This surely would amount to having truck with a group which, [redacted] thinks, is 'threatening and may succeed in crippling the national security.' It is our guess that the Commander [redacted] simply felt that in times like these the Legion has got to have a certain minimum number of horses to beat with the anti-Communist stick. Having seemed to be on the verge of ceasing to belabor UNESCO, it has joined the small but vociferous chorus bent on establishing the essentially subversive nature of organizations financed from funds established by HENRY FORD, JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, ANDREW CARNEGIE, and a number of other suspicious characters."

b6
b7C

[redacted] Assistant United States Attorney, Toledo, Ohio, who is a member of the Constitutional Rights Committee of the Toledo Bar Association, advised that on November 4, 1955, that [redacted] of the Bar Association, had informed him that the Association had received a \$10,000 check from the Fund for the Republic organization which was to be used in investigating police and court procedures and to see that civil rights were not violated. [redacted] stated that [redacted] informed him he was at a loss to know what to do with the money and that up to the present time he believes that the fund has lain dormant.

b6
b7C

There is also enclosed herewith to the Bureau the November, 1955 issue, Volume 2, No. 1 of the "Ohio Police" which is the official publication of the Fraternal Order of Police, Inc., for the State of Ohio. It will be noted that on page four of this publication there appears an article captioned "Toledo Police Arrest Procedures Altered By Ruling."

For the information of the Bureau Chief ALLEN has advised this office that the arrests by his department have declined to such an extent as a result of this matter that it has been necessary to close the cafeteria which has been utilized in the past to feed prisoners.

DIRECTOR, FBI

This information is being furnished the Bureau for any purpose it might serve. This matter will be followed and any information of a significant nature will be forwarded to the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED 6-15-98
DATE 7/3/89 BY 288

ENCLOSURE TO BUREAU FROM CLEVELAND:

One (1) copy of pamphlet entitled
"So, You've Been Arrested!" by
C. W. GILMORE
One (1) copy of "Ohio Police"
Vol. 2, No. 1 dated 11/55.
RE: TOLEDO POLICE DEPARTMENT
TOLEDO, OHIO
CIVIL RIGHTS-CIVIL LIBERTIES
CV 80-217

ENCLOSURE

100-391497-303

So,
you've
been
arrested!



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/3/89 BY SP8 CJK/ks

By C.W.

GILMORE

Reprinted from the **TOLEDO TIMES**

Foreword

EVENTS of the past few years have brought to public attention the half-forgotten fact that the people of the United States have certain inalienable rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States, and their native states.

Strange that so many of these right should have been lost sight of in the years following the adoption of the Bill of Rights. Nevertheless, expediency in police practice, ignorance of a large section of the citizenry concerning these rights and an apathy on the part of a legal profession absorbed with more "important" aspects of the law led inevitably to traditional and commonplace violation of these guarantees.

Several recent incidents in the city of Toledo brought this fact to the attention of The Times. C. W. Gilmore, veteran reporter, who believes as passionately as his editors in the rights of citizens under the law, was assigned to examine the practice of local enforcement officers.

The result of his study was this series of articles titled, "So, You've Been Arrested." In these articles, Mr. Gilmore points out the legal rights of the citizen who encounters the police. They make a fine handbook for every Toledo resident who, however law-abiding, may at any moment find himself in conflict with the authorities.

KENNETH D. TOOILL,
Executive Editor,
Toledo Times

THE TIMES makes grateful acknowledgement to the Constitutional Rights Committee of the Toledo Bar Association of the committee's invaluable aid to Mr. Gilmore in marshaling the legal facts contained in this series of articles. Also to the judges of the Common Pleas Court of Lucas County, the County Prosecutor and his staff, and many members of the legal profession who checked and rechecked these articles to insure their accuracy.

The law is man's friend but you must know your rights

DURING THE COURSE of every human existence, it is more likely than not that the awesome spectacle of a police officer will appear at least once in what is politely called "the performance of duty."

The accusation he makes may be no more serious than overtime parking. Or it may be of such a nature that, if proved, could deprive an individual of his possessions, freedom or even his life.

But whatever the degree, the fact remains that every person — no matter how charitable or good stands at some time to be accused either justly or unjustly, of the law.

What are his rights when this happens? How, and under what circumstances, may he be legally arrested? What does he do? What can he do?

The answers to these questions are contained in the great body of laws that regulate the society in which we live. Many of these laws are ancient, in principle, dating back thousands of years.

* * *

OTHER LAWS, and court interpretations of them, are of more recent origin. They have come about because of the social and economic changes in our environment and the new problems created thereby.

But, and this is important to remember, every criminal law old and new is limited in its application by the rights of individuals against invasions of their life, liberty

and happiness. Laws are made to maintain these privileges, not to jeopardize them.

The law, therefore, is a friend of man. It is his coat of armor, his protection against oppression. The law is neither a tyrant nor a nuisance, nor is it a colossal game to be played.

* * *

FROM TIME to time, however, flagrant cases of unjustified invasion—of misuse of the law by enforcement officers, by courts and by individuals—are brought to public attention.

A motorist is hauled to the police station on a minor traffic violation, and detained there for hours. A man is jailed for days, even weeks, while his conduct is investigated. Shifts of policemen take turns questioning him for hours on end.

Unfortunately, these cases are not particularly exceptions to the rule. They occur daily—unheard of, unchallenged, unredressed. And they are illegal!

There is further significance to these abuses of justice. In almost every case in which an individual's basic rights have been violated, it is because the individual did not know his rights, did not insist upon them.

UNDERSTANDABLY the average person, not a student of law, is unaware of his rights for they are buried in the complicated language of jurisprudence, interred, as it were in a weighty tome.

He simply doesn't know, and has had precious little opportunity to learn, what he is required to do if arrested, and what no power on earth can move him to do if he doesn't want to.

That is why it is important for every person, no matter how law-abiding he feels himself to be, to know his rights when that inevitable meeting takes place with an enforcement officer.

For the law specifically spells out how, and under what circumstances, a person can be held in custody. The law also indicates the circumstances under which an accused person cannot be held in custody.

* * *

TO BEGIN WITH there are some rights so frequently repeated that nearly everybody knows them or at least has heard of them. They bear repeating because they are the basis of all criminal law. They are part of the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution:

The protection against search and arrest unless a warrant has been sworn to with a good reason; the right to a speedy trial and, in most cases, by a jury; the right to be confronted by accusing witnesses; protection against excessive bail and mistreatment by policemen; the right not to testify against oneself.

But these are only the beginning. Added to the familiar constitutional guarantees are literally hundreds of other

rights, contained in the laws of Ohio and ordinances of Toledo. Each one is important.

Paramount of all, however, and the one most frequently ignored in the emotional stress of an arrest, is this: a person is presumed to be innocent until his guilt has been proved beyond a reasonable doubt to either a judge or a jury.

Even "reasonable doubt" is defined by Ohio law. It's that state of mind in which a judge or a jury does not have "an abiding conviction to a moral certainty of the truth of the charge."

IF THERE WERE no other law protecting individuals, "presumption of innocence" alone might be sufficient. For it is the guiding principle that governs the treatment of a person from the time of his arrest to the conclusion of his trial.

No matter how obvious the crime, how apparent the guilt, every accused person is considered by the law to be innocent until tried and found guilty. Until he is found guilty, he retains all the legal rights and privileges of an innocent person.

That means he is not required to prove, or even establish, his innocence. And he is guaranteed an opportunity in open court to defend himself against any charge.

THE BURDEN of proof is on the accuser. The law insists that the prosecutor must prove guilt beyond a reasonable doubt and if the prosecutor is unable to do so, there is no need for the accused person to demonstrate his innocence.

Sometimes law enforcement officers—either in the

boredom or the elation of an arrest—forget this basic principle. And individuals involved often forget to remind them of it.

So the twin principles of presumption of innocence for

the accused and burden of proof for the accuser are the basis of the entire structure of individual legal rights. They are the starting point to any discussion of fundamental legal protections.

Except in two specific cases warrant is needed for arrest

THE CIRCUMSTANCES under which a person may, or may not, be arrested vary according to the nature of the crime. It is important to understand the difference.

Criminal offenses ordinarily fall into two general categories: the more serious crimes, known as felonies; and the minor offenses, known as misdemeanors.

Ohio law defines a felony as an offense which may be punished by death or imprisonment in a penitentiary. All other criminal offenses are misdemeanors.

When an individual is faced with arrest, his rights differ depending upon whether he is accused of a felony or a misdemeanor. For example, it is more difficult to arrest someone for a misdemeanor.

* * *

IN THE FIRST place, a person's rights are more carefully protected in misdemeanor cases because such offenses occur more frequently and usually involve otherwise well-behaved citizens.

Secondly, more leeway is permitted in arresting someone suspected of a felony

because there is a greater likelihood of serious consequences should the person be guilty and not detained immediately.

Only a qualified law enforcement officer can arrest for a misdemeanor. He can do this in one of two ways: if he previously has obtained a warrant to make the arrest, or if he personally sees a person commit the offense.

Any arrest for a misdemeanor which does not comply with one or the other of these conditions is illegal!

If an officer actually sees a person committing a misdemeanor, he must arrest the person on the spot and keep him in custody until a warrant can be obtained. The arrest must be made while the offense is being committed, or within a reasonable time thereafter.

But if the officer is not present when a misdemeanor is committed, and all the

information he has comes from bystanders who did see it, he has no authority to arrest without first getting a warrant.

* * *

THE OFFICER may make an investigation, may ask for names and addresses of persons involved, and other pertinent questions. But there is no law that requires them to answer these questions unless they want to.

For example, if you are involved in a traffic violation or other minor offense that is not witnessed by a law enforcement officer, you cannot be arrested—or even detained against your will—until a warrant has been issued for your arrest.

In such a situation, an officer cannot legally detain you even if a complaining witness promises to swear out a warrant but has not yet done so. The officer has to turn you loose until the warrant has been issued.

This legal protection, of course, does not conflict with a law requiring persons involved in an automobile accident in which someone is injured to remain at the scene until a police investigation is made. That is different.

* * *

BUT DETENTION or arrest for a misdemeanor, including traffic accidents, cannot be made merely on the basis of a police investigation. An investigation is only the prelude to the obtaining of a warrant on which an arrest can be made.

There is a notable exception to this. Where a person is found in a state of intoxication, and admits to driving a car which was involved in

an automobile accident, a police officer may arrest him.

Ohio law carefully spells out who may make an arrest for a misdemeanor. They are sheriffs and their deputies, marshals and their deputies, watchmen, constables and police officers.

* * *

FEDERAL officers may not arrest for a misdemeanor. If an FBI agent or a Secret Service agent or a Treasury agent want to arrest a person for a misdemeanor, they must swear out a warrant like anybody else and turn it over to a qualified arresting officer.

Felonies are quite different. Anyone, whether he is a law enforcement officer or not, has the legal power to arrest any other person whom he has reasonable cause to believe has committed a felony.

The individual making the arrest for a felony need not actually see the crime committed, nor does he have to get a warrant first in order to make the arrest.

But for the arrest to be legal, he must have a reasonable cause to believe that a felony actually has been committed and that the person he is arresting did it. He also must inform the person of the cause of the arrest, unless it is made during the criminal act.

* * *

THERE ARE, therefore, only two conditions under which an individual may be arrested without a warrant: if an officer sees him commit a misdemeanor, or if it's reasonable to believe he committed a felony.

An officer, or any other person who makes an illegal

arrest with or without a warrant may be subject to a civil action for damages by the person arrested.

This could come about if the warrant was improperly issued, or if the grounds for making a felony arrest were not reasonable, or if the arrest was made without a warrant and did not meet the conditions required by law.

* * *

IN MOST traffic violations, and in some misdemeanor cases, city and county officers ordinarily issue a citation, sometimes called a summons, instead of making an arrest.

A citation is not binding on an individual until it is backed up by an affidavit and a warrant.

In other words, a citation is not an arrest, and you cannot be detained against your will merely on the basis of one. A citation only instructs a person to be in court at a certain time to answer a charge contained in a warrant yet to be issued.

If an officer sees the offense for which he issues a

citation—for example, a speeding motorist—then, of course, he presumably will sign the affidavit and a warrant can be issued.

UNDER * * * conditions, an officer can issue a citation even if he doesn't see the offense committed. This frequently happens in the case of traffic accidents.

But to issue a citation under those circumstances, an officer must have physical evidence that leads him to believe an offense has been committed, and which is strong enough in itself to support the issuance of a warrant.

Otherwise, somebody who actually was involved in the offense must be willing to sign the affidavit as a complaining witness, and to appear in court to testify about the case.

For if an arresting officer or a complainant fails to swear out an affidavit by court time, and hence no warrant has been issued, the accused person cannot be tried. He must be discharged immediately and at no cost to himself.

Warrant must be obtained within a reasonable time

WHEN A PERSON has been arrested without a warrant, he cannot be held in custody any longer than is reasonably necessary to obtain a warrant for his further detention.

This right is guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and the State of Ohio. There is no getting around it—legally.

Any individual or police officer making such an arrest must take his prisoner, without unnecessary delay, to the most convenient court or magistrate authorized to issue warrants and get one at once.

But what is "unnecessary delay" or a "reasonable time?" Circumstances and conditions that exist in each case are considered in determining their meaning.

* * *

THE OHIO Supreme Court has ruled, for example, that detention for one hour before a warrant could be obtained was not unreasonable. On the other hand, it has ruled that a warrant should be obtained by early morning in the case of a midnight arrest.

In Toledo, the clerk of the Municipal Court is authorized to issue warrants. His office is open, and deputy clerks are on duty, 24 hours a day except Sundays and legal holidays.

A reasonable time in Toledo, therefore, might well be the time necessary to take an accused person from the scene of the offense to the

Safety Building, and the clerk's office.

* * *

SIMILARLY, outside the city limits, an officer making an arrest without a warrant must take his prisoner without unnecessary delay to the nearest justice of the peace or mayor's court and there obtain a warrant.

The warrant upon which an arrest is made is based on an affidavit charging a particular offense. In theory, a judge, clerk or magistrate can issue a warrant only when he has reasonable grounds to believe that the offense charged in the affidavit has been committed.

Although it frequently is done, you cannot legally be held or detained against your will on the basis of an affidavit. A warrant must be issued on the affidavit first.

Law enforcement officers sometimes put persons in jail and book them "on suspicion" or "hold for investigation" or hold for detective so-and-so" or other officers.

* * *

This is not legal! There are no such crimes upon which an affidavit can be filed, or a warrant issued.

As a practical matter, many persons are arrested by police officers without a warrant on the ground that

they are suspected of committing a felony. Generally speaking, such an arrest is legal.

But the officer has a positive duty to place a definite charge against the arrested person and without unnecessary delay.

Policemen say they detain persons in jail on these so-called open charges or suspicion only until they have completed their investigation of a criminal offense. There is no legal basis for this.

* * *

IF SUCH a person demands his release on the ground that he is being held longer than is reasonably necessary to obtain a warrant, a proper charge must be filed against him at once, or he is entitled to immediate freedom.

Law enforcement officers or others responsible for the wrongful detention of a person are liable to damages for false imprisonment. A jury would then be called upon to decide if the person were held unnecessarily long.

The so-called charge of suspicion should not be confused with the legal charge of "suspicious person," which is set up in the Toledo Municipal Code as a misdemeanor. It is an extremely general charge—defined, in part, as follows:

"Any person found loitering about any barroom, gambling house, pool room, vessel, house of ill fame or gambling device, or about pools, or baseball, prize fighting or horse racing; or found wandering about the streets either by day or by night, without being able to give a reasonable and satisfactory account of himself . . ."

* * *
ALTHOUGH similar laws

have been upheld in appellate courts, the constitutionality of the ordinance may sometime be questioned—particularly the requirement that a person must account for himself.

From time to time, a person may be held as a material witness. There are circumstances under which this is legal, and other circumstances under which it is not legal.

There is no authority in law for a Municipal Court to hold a person as a material witness, or to require a material witness to post a bond for his appearance, in connection with a misdemeanor charge.

A Municipal Court's authority to require a bond of witnesses is limited to felony cases that might originate in that court. The court, in such instances, has jurisdiction only for the purpose of conducting a preliminary examination to determine whether the defendant should be bound over to the grand jury.

* * *

Then, and only then, can a Municipal Court require a bond of the witness to guarantee his appearance in Common Pleas Court when the time comes. Of course, if the material witness refuses to give a satisfactory bond, the court may order him committed to jail until he complies.

Bail and bonds will be discussed more fully tomorrow. But, in connection with material witnesses, mention should be made of a law that is sometimes misinterpreted to mean that a bond can be required of complaining witnesses in Municipal Court criminal actions.

This law, however, only permits the court to require

a complainant in a misdemeanor case to guarantee—or give security—for the statutory costs of conducting a hearing.

This security is authorized only before a warrant has been issued and then only in instances where the court considers the complainant irresponsible.

Police cannot legally hold persons incommunicado

WHEN A PERSON has been arrested, he has a right to talk with his lawyer at once and in most cases to be released on bail. There is no legal way to hold an individual "incommunicado."

Ohio law provides that after a person has been arrested his attorney may visit with him immediately and consult with him privately at the request of the prisoner or any of his relatives.

The same law also prohibits any police officer from preventing or attempting to prevent the prisoner from "consulting immediately, privately and at any reasonable hour" with his lawyer.

If an officer does, he may be fined up to \$100 and sentenced to 30 days in jail.

Under another section of Ohio law, prisoners must be given a reasonable time to send for a lawyer before they can be given a preliminary examination by a court or a justice of the peace.

The purpose of these laws is to guarantee individuals the benefit of legal advice as soon as they get in trouble. It is an unqualified right and cannot be denied you.

* * *

IF YOU DON'T have a personal attorney, or don't

know any lawyers, you can obtain legal counsel at any time through the attorney reference service of the Toledo Bar Association. The number is CH. 2-2000.

There are other legal requirements that prevent law enforcement officers from detaining unconvicted persons longer than is absolutely necessary.

The Ohio Constitution, for example, provides that all persons have the right to be released from custody by posting sufficient bail unless they are being held for a capital offense where the proof is evident or the presumption great.

Thus the individual's right to immediate bail is a Constitutional right. Accordingly, the obligation of arresting officers to release a prisoner under a properly posted bond is mandatory.

From the defendant's standpoint, the reason for giving bail obviously is to secure his release from custody. But the state insists

that the bail be sufficient to guarantee his appearance at his trial.

Both the United States and Ohio Constitutions prohibit excessive bail. In most misdemeanor cases, a maximum of \$500 is required; but the actual amount can be determined by a judge or a clerk.

IN FIXING the amount of bail, the law requires judges and clerks of court to consider the seriousness of the offense, the previous criminal record of the defendant and the probability of his appearance at the trial.

As a matter of convenience, the Municipal Court of Toledo has prepared a sort of schedule of bails that are required for various misdemeanors. This schedule is available for inspection in the clerk's office.

For example, the maximum bond required of Toledo residents accused of minor traffic violations is \$200. Traffic bonds, however, may be doubled for non-residents of Toledo.

Generally speaking, there are three ways to put up bail: by depositing money, by pledging real property or by "recognition."

An individual may obtain his release by pledging a property bond if he is a resident of the county in which he has been arrested, and owns property in the state of Ohio.

His equity in that property must be at least twice the amount of the bond required.

In other words, the valuation of the land, less any mortgages and less \$1,000 for homestead exemption, must be at least double the bond.

If an accused person doesn't have sufficient equity,

a friend or relative who meets the qualifications and does own enough property in the state may post the bond for him.

Individuals also may "buy" a bail bond from a licensed bondsman. This is the most frequently used method of obtaining bail.

The fees which bondsmen may charge for providing bail is limited by city ordinance. The ordinance requires that this fee schedule be posted in at least five conspicuous places in the police station.

The maximum bail bond fees permitted are: for a bond of \$25 or less, \$5; for a bond of \$26 to \$50, a fee of \$7.50 is permitted; for a bond of \$51 to \$100 a fee of \$10, and for bonds of more than \$100, a maximum charge of 10 per cent is allowed.

When an individual has been accused and arrested, his right to release under bail can be exercised immediately and without delay. It is subject only to the availability of a judge or, in the case of misdemeanors, a clerk of court to set the amount of the bond.

As in the case of warrants, misdemeanor bail bonds in the city of Toledo may be set by the clerk of the Municipal Court. The clerk's office is open 24 hours a day, except Sundays and holidays. Outside the city limits, bonds may be fixed by any available justice of the peace.

COURTS and clerks also may waive any property or financial security and order an accused person released on a personal recognizance bond. In effect, this merely means the person has signed his own bond without putting up any surety.

A bail bond does not free the defendant of his responsibility to appear in court to answer the charges against him. If he fails to appear, the bond is forfeited and he is still subject to trial as soon as he is caught.

If a forfeited bond is less than the penalty to be imposed, and the defendant is

subsequently caught and brought to trial, the judge may reduce the fine by the amount of the forfeiture.

Bondsmen or others who put up bail in behalf of a defendant who does not appear in court at the stated time may file a civil action against him to recover the amount of the surety.

You do not have to answer questions if you're arrested

THERE ARE 15 words in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States that say "no person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself."

They are the basis of the familiar protection against self-incrimination. This right applies equally before, during and after you have been arrested.

You do not have to answer any questions put to you by policemen or any other officials. You do not have to sign any papers or statements of any kind.

You do not have to take any tests, such as a drunkometer, urinalysis, lie detector, truth serum or blood test.

You cannot be made to do so by any threats, force or promises or by any other method.

Of course, you may waive these rights. You may, if you choose, make statements, sign papers and take tests. Any information obtained from you voluntarily, and without the use of force or

intimidation, may be used against you in court—except from a lie detector.

IN THE United States, police officers—before they question a prisoner—are required by law to advise him that he doesn't have to answer the questions if he doesn't want to.

His refusal to answer questions may be brought out in court. But if it is, the judge will inform the jury that the defendant was within his Constitutional rights not to talk to police officers.

There are some things you are required to do, however.

If you are arrested for a felony, you must submit to fingerprinting and a police photograph. If it is necessary to establish your identity, you also may be fingerprinted and photographed in a misdemeanor case.

But if you are acquitted of

the charge, you may demand that the fingerprint and photographic records be returned to you.

If you are stopped by a law enforcement officer while driving a car, you are required to show him your driver's license. Similarly, you must display your license while hunting or fishing.

You must permit an officer to frisk your clothing for concealed weapons if he has reasonable cause to believe you are carrying one. Once in custody at the police station — but not before — you may be required to empty your pockets. The officers must allow you to remove the contents.

* * *

AND THAT is all you are required to do by law.

If a law enforcement officer questions you at any time, you do not have to answer his questions unless you want to. You do not have to make any statements, or say anything.

Of course, under ordinary circumstances, it might be unwise to remain silent. For example, in Toledo you can be arrested as a suspicious person if you do not give a reasonable and satisfactory account of yourself.

In recent years, the question of self-incriminating tests has become more and more important. Courts differ on their legality. The drunkometer is illegal in Michigan and presumably legal in Ohio, although the Ohio Supreme Court has never said it is.

* * *

WHAT ARE an individual's rights in regard to these tests?

In Ohio, you do not have to submit to a test for alcoholism if you don't want to. If you do, however, the results can be considered by the court in determining whether you were drunk at the time.

If you refuse to take a drunkometer test, the way things stand now, this fact may be mentioned in court and possibly held against you. Attorneys differ on the legality of this.

The lie detector is something else. You do not have to submit to a lie detector test, either. But whether you do or don't, the results cannot be introduced as evidence in court unless both you and the prosecution agree to it before the test is given.

On the other hand, any statement or confession you make can be used against you at your trial unless it can be shown that you made the statements against your will.

There is another significant civil right amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It is the fourth, which prohibits unreasonable searches and seizures of property.

Ohio law permits the search of a house or place for stolen property, weapons or instruments used in crime, forgeries and counterfeiting implements, obscene publications and gambling devices if a warrant has been issued to do so.

* * *

IN ORDER to enter a private dwelling or other place legally to look for these things, or to arrest a person, a law enforcement officer first must have probable

cause to believe they can be found there.

He must swear to this in an affidavit, describing the things to be searched for, the house or place to be searched and the person to be seized. He must make the search in the daytime, unless there is "urgent necessity" to do it at night.

A law enforcement officer, with a search warrant, may break into a house or place to complete the search if you refuse to admit him. If he has no warrant, however, you don't have to let him in and you can sue him for

trespassing if he forces his way in.

Ohio courts have ruled that if an officer does break into a home without a warrant, and happens to find contraband property there, it can be used in evidence—even though illegally obtained. But the officer is still subject to a civil action for trespassing.

This ruling applies only to Ohio state courts. It does not apply in federal courts, which will not admit evidence illegally obtained by federal officers.

If you face imprisonment, you're entitled to a jury trial

PERSONS CHARGED with traffic offenses and misdemeanors generally are tried either in a Municipal Court or by a justice of the peace.

They may be represented by an attorney in either event. Or, if they desire they may represent themselves. This is usually the case when the offense is minor or the penalty not too severe.

Nonetheless, it may be risky. Although most judges and prosecutors are, not inclined to take advantage of a defendant's unfamiliarity with the law, neither are they required to advise him of his rights.

Ohio law goes far to assure a defendant legal counsel in felony cases. If he has no way to pay for advice, and wants it, the court must assign one or two lawyers to represent him free of charge.

In misdemeanor cases, however, the penalty frequently is not severe enough to warrant the additional cost of an attorney. Therefore, it is well to know the procedure in courts in which you are most likely to find yourself.

At any trial in any court for a violation of any law you are entitled to a trial by jury if the penalty involves imprisonment or exceeds a fine of \$50. Court costs are not considered part of a fine.

In Municipal Court you will be called to the judge's bench and the prosecutor will read

the charge that has been filed against you. He tells you what law you are accused of violating.

* * *
HE MUST READ this charge from a proper warrant and an affidavit, signed either by a police officer who witnessed the misdemeanor, or by a qualified complaining witness who was involved in the offense.

If the prosecutor does not have such an affidavit and a warrant, you cannot be tried. In fact, you have no business being in court at all until an affidavit and a warrant have been issued.

After the charge is read, the judge will ask whether you wish to plead guilty or not guilty. In most instances, defendants who plead guilty will be heard first and their cases disposed of promptly.

A plea of guilty means you choose to admit you violated the law as charged and do not wish to contest it further. It also waives your right to a jury trial, because none would be necessary.

A plea of not guilty means you wish to contest the matter and have the judge or jury decide whether you have violated the law. If you are in doubt about your guilt or innocence, you should plead not guilty—for a plea of guilty amounts to a conviction.

When you plead guilty there is no trial. You may tell the judge of any extenuating circumstances you want him to consider in deciding the penalty. Perhaps the circumstances of the offense were such that a smaller fine or lesser sentence is in order.

If you plead not guilty and the offense can be punished

by imprisonment or a fine of more than \$50, you may ask for a jury trial and that is what you will get. If you don't ask for a jury trial, or waive one, then the judge alone will decide the case.

A trial by jury definitely will postpone the trial because a jury will have to be selected and that takes time. Other factors, such as the summoning of witnesses, also may delay the trial.

If a delay is necessary, the judge may require you to post bond to guarantee your appearance at the trial. If you don't put up bond, the judge can send you to jail until the trial.

If you plead not guilty and waive a jury trial, it is probable you will be heard immediately by the judge. You may, however, ask for a continuance, or postponement, to allow you to prepare your defense.

* * *
WHEN YOU are tried, however, either by a judge or jury, the police officer who arrested you, and perhaps other witnesses, will be called to testify under oath about the offense and your part in it.

You, or your attorney, may cross examine these witnesses concerning the matters about which they have testified. You may, if you wish, also be sworn and tell your side of the story. But you cannot be made to testify personally.

In many traffic cases, there will be only two witnesses: the policeman who arrested you and yourself.

You need not testify at all, if you don't want to subject yourself to cross-examination. It is up to the officer to convince the judge or jury

beyond a reasonable doubt that you are guilty as charged.

But if you do testify, and your story conflicts with the testimony of the police officer, it will be up to the judge or jury to decide which one to believe.

They must bear in mind that the prosecution has to prove the case against you, but this proof can be established if the testimony of the officer is more creditable, more believable than yours.

* * *
FURTHERMORE, the fact that you are directly interested in the result of the trial may be regarded as a factor in determining whether you are telling the truth.

If you are not satisfied with the judge's decision, or the verdict of the jury, you or your attorney may ask for a new trial at any time before sentence is passed. This is the first step you take toward appealing the judgment.

The procedure before a justice of the peace is somewhat different and slightly confusing, although you still are entitled to a trial by jury if the penalty is imprisonment or a fine greater than \$50.

If you are brought before a justice of the peace on the complaint of an injured party, and plead guilty to the of-

fense, the justice may sentence you at once.

* * *
BUT IF YOU plead guilty to a complaint brought by a law enforcement officer, rather than a directly injured party, then the justice cannot sentence you or put you in jail. He must bind you over to the grand jury, most likely under a bond.

Oddly enough, if you plead not guilty to a charge brought by a law enforcement officer, and waive a trial by jury, the justice can proceed to try the case.

This actually is what happens when a speeding motorist, or other minor offender, wants to plead guilty and get the whole thing out of the way. He accomplishes this by pleading not guilty and waiving a jury trial.

If you plead not guilty to a charge brought by a law enforcement officer, and refuse to waive a jury trial, again the justice is without jurisdiction. He must bind you over to Common Pleas Court.

In cases of a felony, a justice can hold only a preliminary examination. If, after the examination, he thinks there is a probable cause you might be guilty of the felony, he must bind you over to the grand jury. Otherwise, he must discharge you at once.



FRATERNAL ORDER OF POLICE OF OHIO INC.

OHIO POLICE



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Issued Monthly

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November, 1955

Stanley Schrotel President of Ohio Chiefs of Police

Stanley Schrotel, of Cincinnati, is the new president of the Ohio Association of Chiefs of Police, Inc.

Schrotel, who served as first vice-president of the past year, was elevated to the top spot by Ohio chiefs at the 24th annual conference last month in the Sheraton-Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati.

The new president succeeds John Putko, Chief of Police, Campbell, O.

Other new officers are Chief A. D. Baden of Bellefontaine, O., first vice-president; Chief Thomas Sprague of Marietta, second vice-president. H. S. Weaver, East Cleveland, was re-elected secretary-treasurer.

The conference city of 1956 will be Akron.

Highlighting the speakers program was the Honorable Gordon H. Scherer, U. S. Congressman, First District of Ohio. His topic was "The Un-American Activities Committee."

During the first day of the business sessions of the three-day conference, the chiefs heard from several police officers of the Cincinnati police department on subjects pertaining to recruit training, traffic records, personnel and varied topics.

The group also heard from the Administrative Officer of the Training Division of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. He is the former Dayton police chief, M. C. Kirkpatrick. He delivered a 30-minute talk on "A New Program for the Training Division of the International Association of Chiefs of Police."

Chief John Putko of Campbell, O., outgoing president, gave the address of welcome at the opening business session of the conclave.

"A Chief Can Be More Effective in the Use of Personnel by Employing the Staff Study Study Technique," was the subject of a talk delivered by Lieut. Elmer J. Reis, training officer, Cincinnati Police Academy.

Capt. Paul Flaughner of the Cincinnati Police Department, gave a 30-minute talk on "Should a Police Agency Adopt a Police Cadet Program?"

During the day of the opening business session, the Ladies Luncheon took place and a tour was made of the Baldwin Piano Co., followed by lunch at the Baldwin firm, a tour of the Art

Museum and a sightseeing tour of the city. The ladies also visited the WLW-TV studios.

On the concluding day, the ladies were entertained at conducted shopping tour of Shilito's Department Store.

An address of welcome was delivered by the Honorable Carl W. Rich, mayor of the City of Cincinnati.

Capt. Edward Darmody, Cincinnati Police Department, gave a talk on "Discipline for a Law Enforcement Agency."

Capt. Robert Klug, Cincinnati Police Department, discussed, "Are Your Policemen Using Their Time to Further Your Department's Objectives?"

"Evaluating the Effectiveness of a Traffic Enforcement Program," was delivered by Lieut. Arthur Mehring of the Cincinnati Police Department.

Opening the closing day's session was Lieut. Vern Smith of Lorain, O., who gave a 30-minute address on "State Legislation as It Affects Police."

Following Lieut. Smith was Deputy Inspector Carl Bare of the Cleveland Police Department, who discussed, "National Legislation as it Affects Police."

Chief George Scholer of the Columbus Police Department reported on "The Philadelphia Conference of the International Association of Chiefs of Police."



COLONEL STANLEY SCHROTEL
... new president of Ohio Chiefs

The Federal Bureau of Investigation sent two representatives to the conference. The two guest speakers were H. O. Hawkins, special agent in charge of the Cleveland Field Office, and M. W. McFarlin, special agent in charge of the Cincinnati Field Office.

Chief Lawrence Abbott of Springfield, O., submitted the report of the legislative committee; Chief H. S. Weaver of East Cleveland, gave the secretary's report, followed by a 60-minute open forum conducted by Cincinnati Chief S. R. Schrotel.

Assisting with program arrangements, in addition to the 1955 officers, were:

Chief Lester Roeper, Parma; Chief Ross Cunningham, Steubenville; Chief Firmin Grubb, Kent; Chief Thomas Sprague, Marietta; Chief Albert Morton, Upper Arlington; Chief John Bippus, Hamilton; Chief F. X. Niehaus, North College Hill; Chief G. Woodrow Sickafuse, Struthers; Chief Harry Smith, Ashland; Chief Paul Martin, Mansfield; Chief L. A. Abbot, Springfield; Chief George Scholer, Columbus; Chief Paul Cress, Youngstown.

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Editorial

The 40-hour week for policemen of Ohio is becoming more widespread—and justly so.

The police of Dayton, Cleveland, Columbus (and soon Cincinnati) are already on a 40-hour program. Last month the Ohio State Highway Patrol went on the same hours schedule.

Police departments of Pittsburgh, St. Paul, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, Milwaukee—in fact a majority of the cities of larger population in the nation—now are on 40 hours.

The police of Ohio are slow in getting this issue across 100 per cent. For many years, industries and laboring groups throughout the nation have been on 40 hours.

Now comes word from a labor leader who foresees a four-day work week for Americans within 10 years as a result of automation. Walter P. Reuther, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, said other possibilities were longer vacation periods, more education for the young, earlier retirement, and other vast increases in the material standards of living.

The CIO leader recommended a series of "cushions" to reduce the shock of what he called "the second industrial revolution."

Among his proposals were:

1. Increase consumer purchasing power by raising the minimum from the new \$1 an hour floor to \$1.25.

2. A shorter work week. This would be accomplished partly by negotiation and partly by changing the statutory maximum of 40 hours to 30 or 35 hours.

Frequently when city officials discuss the 40-hour police week, the question arises: "What about Firemen?"

Fire-fighting and police work are entirely different occupations.

A policeman's job requires him to keep continually in touch with developments—and gives him precious little respite from his job during the week—whereas a fireman, save in time of emergency, does concentrated duty and then is off for the balance of the week. This permits, in effect, firemen to have more free time and much greater opportunity for side employment.

You must remember when arguing for the 40-hour police week in your respective communities that officials of governing municipal bodies must be clarified and enlightened on the distinct differences between policemen and firemen.

Policemen are policemen at all times—not just in the time of emergencies.

It's time now for a statewide 40-hour police week. If we wait much longer the movement of industry for a 30-hour week will have us pushed to the background.

Secretary's Message

By WM. J. MURPHY, STATE SECRETARY

The National Lodge has mailed membership reports to all lodges and forms for payment of dues for 1956. We are very happy to report that over 20 lodges have paid their dues, thus far. We hope others will do likewise. You cannot receive cards unless whole or part payment has been made. All lodges taking in new members must remit \$1 as initiation fee for each new member. Please include this when you make payments. It will eliminate needless correspondence.

* * * *

We mentioned in the October issue of Ohio Police that we have had some inquiries about the charter of our lodge. Also about our incorporation which comes under the non-profit group. The Internal Revenue Department is checking on information it has received pertaining to some subordinate lodges operating contrary to law as to the non-profit clause. It will be wise for all lodges raising money by dances, etc., to be sure the money is used according to law. The State Lodge will not be responsible for any litigation which may result from the misuse of such funds.

* * * *

We have received a letter from national trustee of Arizona, John Cartwright. He has installed the first lodge in California. The delegation from Arizona has lived up to its word given the delegates who attended the national conference at Knoxville. They said they would proceed to organize California. Torrance Lodge No. 1 was activated in September. The lodge, which initiated 55 members, is located a short distance from Los Angeles in a community of 75,000. We take this opportunity to congratulate the members from Arizona for the fine work accomplished. It should be an incentive to other lodges to promote this organization on a widespread scale. Brother Cartwright has requested all lodges who have magazines and other local publications to write to Torrance Lodge and give the new members a shot in the arm and let them know what the FOP is doing in their respective communities. John Thompson is president. Write him in care of the Police Department, Torrance, Calif. CONGRATULATIONS.

* * * *

As we have promised, the minutes of the State conference will be in the mail early this month. This is a big job and requires a tremendous amount of time. We wish to thank you for your patience.

* * * *

Again the question on courtesy cards comes up. It has been an established policy of the State Lodge to mail these cards to the secretary who will be in office for the coming year. In the past, the secretary who is going out of office has received the cards and did not issue them properly. The number of cards sent a lodge will be governed by the number of members plus a few for the elected officials of the city or village. We can eliminate confusion by following instructions. The courtesy cards have value, but this value can be reduced by improper distribution.

* * * *

We hope that each lodge has heeded our advice about the election of officers. You should certainly be interested in whom you select. A heavy burden is on your officers. They can make or break your lodge by their management after they get control. Give them your wholehearted support. It will make the task easier for them.

* * * *

The pension committee, which was authorized by the state conference, will begin work shortly. If you have any gripes or suggestions the panel will be glad to hear from you and give consideration to your problems. We know our pension system is not perfect, but if we attempt to make too many radical changes, the law as it now stands can be wrecked. You should bear this in mind when discussing changes. Speaker of the House Roger Cloud has appointed a committee to study all retirement systems in the state and report back to the next session. This can be good or bad, so we must be careful in pressing any changes.

* * * *

Again in closing I must remind all members to keep working to increase our membership. We need all eligible policemen in the state. Let's keep punching!

... Items of Widespread Interest ...

BACK FROM FLORIDA

Back from a Florida vacation is Police Chief Robert Bucklin of University Heights, suburb of Cleveland.

CANDIDATES FOR OFFICE

Three former FBI agents are candidates for office in the Cleveland suburbs: Wendell V. Sweet, running for mayor in Middleburg Heights; Clarence J. Oviatt, for solicitor in North Olmstead; and Alex Davidson, Jr., seeking re-election to council in Bay Village.

PATROLMAN GRANDPA

James Banasek, Cleveland patrolman, is a grandfather. His daughter, Jackie Banasek O'Malley, gave birth to a boy.

BARONS AID YOUTHS

Sitting for free at every Cleveland Arena hockey game this season will be 500 high schoolers handpicked by Police Capt Art Roth.

BRYNAK HONORED

Charles Brynak, fifth district patrolman in Cleveland, has been honored recently at a dinner at the Hotel Manger. He's the new commander of the police American Legion post.

REFRESHER COURSES

Police and Firemen, residing in the Cleveland suburb of Brooklyn, will soon be starting four-week refresher courses.

NO CONTEST

In the Cleveland suburb of Hunting Valley, James Seidehamel, veteran police chief, is uncontested in the constable race.

Cincy Dance Successful

The 13th annual Queen City Lodge 69 benefit dance and floor show in October was a tremendous success. The event was held at Castle Farm in Cincinnati.

The promotion is staged annually for the promotion of the juvenile sports program sponsored by Queen City lodge to combat juvenile delinquency.

Entertainment featured Eydie Gorme of the Steve Allen TV show, Jackie Jay, and the Anderson Quartet of Cincinnati. Barney Rapp and his New Englanders furnished the music.

Co-chairmen were Stan "Whitey" Heber and Joe Gramke.

WILSON IN MEXICO

Dr. Frank J. Wilson, president of Fraternal Order of Police Associates of Ohio, Inc., has been vacationing in Mexico. The November meeting of the FOPA will feature Wilson's pictures of highlights of Mexican life.

SEEKING OTHER JOBS

The Bucyrus police force was threatened with extinction when eight of the 11 patrolmen notified city officials recently that they had applied for jobs at a nearby automobile plant. Top pay for a patrolman has been \$285 monthly.

TREMENDOUS DIP

Reduction of crime in Cleveland thus far in 1955 amounted to 21.4 per cent, far ahead of the national average of 1.4 per cent, Police Inspector Ralph Schoonmaker reported.

CRASH FIGURES UP

City of Toledo has shown a monthly traffic accident increase with 1,173 crashes compared with 976 during the same 31-day period of last year. One person was killed, 233 injured

TAX PROPOSED

The fire commission of Detroit has given tentative approval to the levying of a two per cent tax on all fire insurance policies sold within the city. Purpose of the tax, officials say, is to increase the pension fund. Estimated revenue from the proposed tax has been set at between two and three million annually. At the present time, \$13,360,000 is paid out yearly to retired police and firemen, approximately 42 per cent of the total payrolls of both departments.

700 TAKING COURSES

Nearly 700 patrolmen of New York City are taking courses of study which will lead to a degree of associate in applied science at the Police Academy and the Bernard M. Baruch School of Business and Public Administration of City College. Sixty-four credits are needed to receive the title of associate.

PATROL CHIEF IMPROVES

Reported improved is Lt. William B. Spence, state highway patrol commander at Bucyrus, in Bucyrus City hospital. He has been undergoing treatment for a heart attack since Sept. 18.

'BLUE LAW' TRIAL

At Youngstown, Municipal Judge Robert Nevin ruled that Ohio's long-dormant "Blue Laws" are constitutional and ordered a trial for two independent operators of bargain stores for doing business on Sundays.

JOHN FRAWLEY DIES

A member of the Cleveland police department from 1904 until he went on pension in 1937, John J. Frawley, 80 died Oct. 21. After his retirement he was a plant guard.

SUCCUMBS AT 69

Harry G. Clabeaux, 69, died recently in Cleveland after a long illness. A member of the Cleveland police department 30 years, he spent most of those years in ambulance duty on the West Side. He retired in 1951.

AUTOCIDE SQUAD

Hamilton county has a new traffic investigation corps set up by the coroner, prosecutor and sheriff. It is the autocide squad.

Dudek, Bare Ask Lodges To Cooperate

National President Jack Dudek and State President Carl Bare jointly request all subordinate lodges to cooperate with agents of the Kemper-Thomas Advertising Agency of Cincinnati with whom the Grand Lodge now has a working arrangement for the distribution of safety calendars.

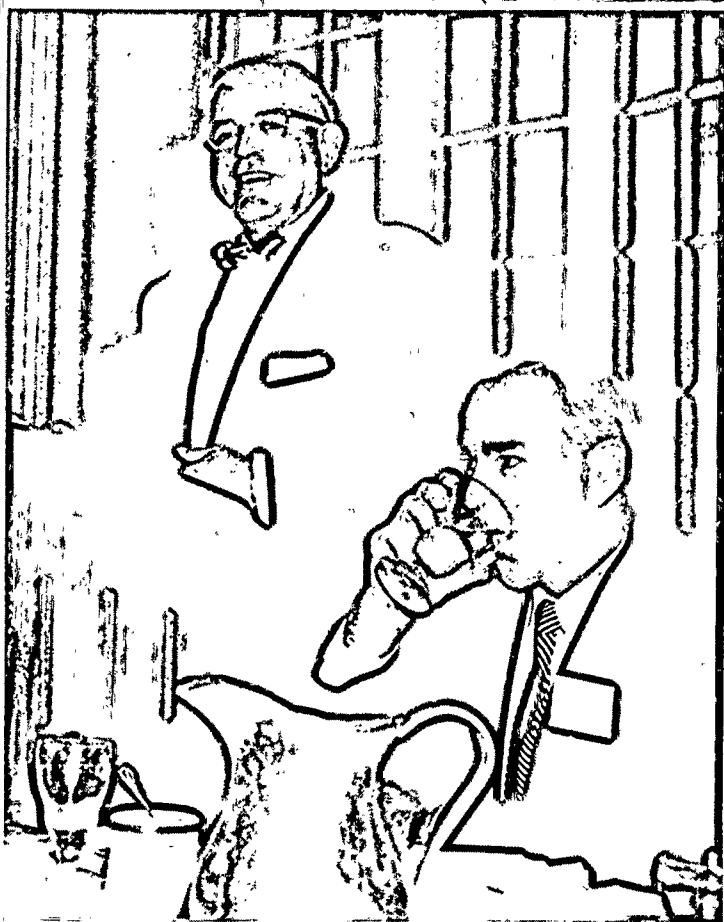
Solicitation for advertising for the 1957 edition of the safety calendar is now proceeding throughout the state.

Subordinate lodges are requested to submit a letter to the representatives of Kemper-Thomas when requested, indicating that the lodge will assume responsibility for the distribution of these calendars.

The State and Grand Lodge will receive revenue from this source.

PHILLY MAYOR ACTS

In Philadelphia, Mayor Clark will request \$829,840 to combat juvenile delinquency.



KEY FIGURES — H. S. Weaver, Chief of East Cleveland, O. police and secretary-treasurer of the Ohio Chiefs Association, addresses the 24th annual conference. Seated at the speakers' table is Col. Stanley Schrotel, Cincinnati, newly-elected president of the Ohio Chiefs.

100-347-1000

Toledo Police Arrest Procedures Altered By Ruling

As a result of the investigation of police procedure by the Toledo Bar Association's Constitutional Rights Committee, which was supplemented and much publicized by a series of articles appearing in the Toledo Times entitled "So You've Been Arrested," the Toledo Department of Law has rendered a written opinion defining a police officer's power of arrest in misdemeanor cases.

This opinion, written by William D. Driscoll, Assistant Director of Law, was sent to Safety Director George Gray on August 23rd. It has had a far reaching effect on law enforcement in that city.

An on-the-spot check with members of the Toledo Police Department by representatives of Ohio Police reveals a rapid decline in the number of misdemeanor arrests. For the first time in the memory of any present member of the police department, the city jail was without a prisoner for almost 24 hours.

The contract for feeding prisoners, held for many years by a woman who also operated a cafeteria in the jail, was surrendered because of lack of business. Police officers report that the public is disturbed because they fail to understand the change in procedure brought about so suddenly.

Even members of the Bar Association are complaining that strict adherence to the

general orders of the Safety Director by police officers (reported in October Ohio Police) fails to give the public the protection they desire and need.

The following excerpts from Driscoll's ruling may be of interest to all police officers:

"The statutes as interpreted by the court's determine the policy of procedure for law enforcement for traffic violations or other misdemeanors of felonies. In any case of apparent violation of the municipal traffic code constituting a misdemeanor, whether an accident occurs or not and whether or not a resident of the City of Toledo is involved, a police officer may not make an arrest without a warrant unless the violation of which the person is accused, is witnessed by the arresting officer.

Sec. 2935.03 Officer may arrest on view.

A sheriff, deputy sheriff, marshall, deputy marshall, watchman, or police officer shall arrest and detain a person found violating a law of this state, or an ordinance of municipal corporation, until a warrant can be obtained. (underscoring supplied).

"The term 'found violating' as used in the above section, has been interpreted uniformly and consistently to mean that the misdemeanor was committed in the presence of the arresting officer. An arrest without a warrant after the comple-

tion of the misdemeanor not committed in the presence of the officer, is illegal.

"It follows therefore, that if a police officer is called to the scene of an accident which resulted from a violation of a traffic control ordinance or statute, the officer has no legal right to make an arrest without a warrant unless there was a violation of law committed in his presence at the scene, or he has reasonable grounds to believe there has been a commission of felony and has further grounds to believe the person to be arrested without a warrant committed that felony.

"The officer called to the scene of an accident may note the physical evidence, admissions and statements legally obtained from the person whom he accuses as a violator of a criminal traffic ordinance or statute and may present to the court such evidence in support of a prosecution or as grounds for arrest. Such evidence obtained will not justify the officer in making an arrest without a warrant for a misdemeanor or not committed or continuing in his presence.

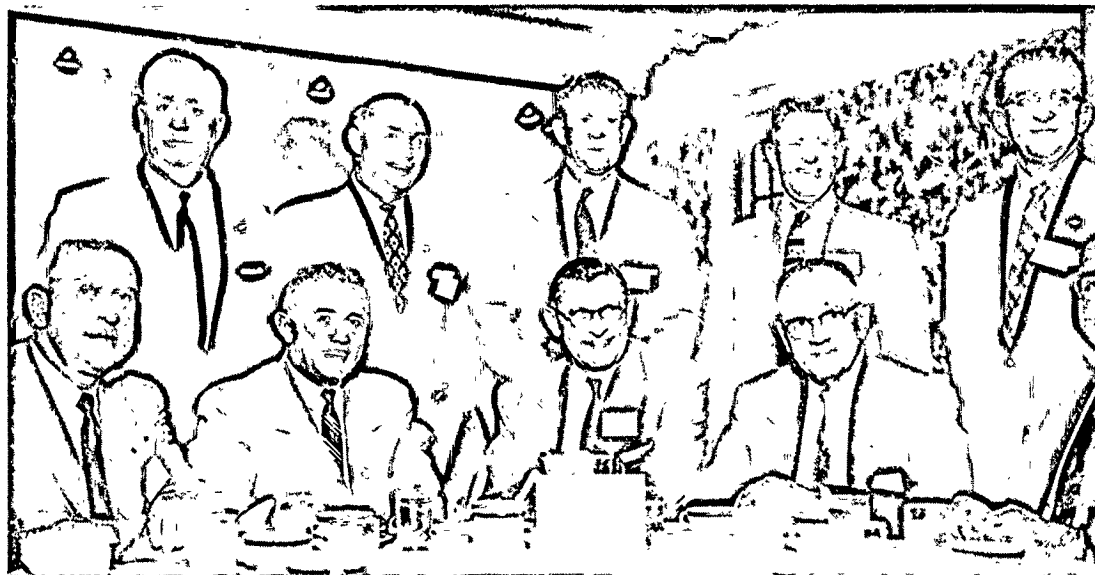
"It should be noted also that when an officer makes an arrest without a warrant 'he must without unnecessary delay' make or cause to be made a complaint stating the offense for which the person was arrested.

"The Court of Appeals, Sixth Appellate District, Lucas County, Ohio, in two relatively recent cases has pointed out in well reasoned and documented opinion that the mere fact that an accident or collision occurred, does not necessarily establish a criminal violation of the traffic laws, and that such a violation is not always synonymous with civil negligence.

"The policies and procedures for law enforcement, whether involving traffic violations or other misdemeanors or involving felonies, is one which of necessity must be determined and pursued by the Safety Department as established by the foregoing statutes and interpretations of the courts. Whether this approach requires a change in methods and imposes greater obligation on police personnel is only incidental to proper legal law enforcement.

"It should be understood and impressed on all personnel of the Police Department that the prime objective is the protection of life and property and the enforcement of the criminal laws. Conversely the adjustment of civil rights is one for the parties involved upon appeal to the civil branch of our courts rather than the criminal branch. Criminal law enforcement is not available as a means of collecting civil damages."

The columns of Ohio Police will continue to report on developments in the Toledo Police Department.



AMONG THE THROGS convening at Cincinnati for the 24th annual conference of the Ohio Association of Chiefs of Police, Inc. were, left to right, standing, William J. Murphy, State FOP Secretary; Carl C. Bare, State FOP president; Lieut. C. F. Strayer, state patrol; Chief Manley English, Warren; Vern Smith, FOP grand trustee. Left to right, seated, Capt. D. D. Stark, state patrol; Col. George Mingle, superintendent of Ohio State Highway Patrol; Chief A. L. Stuckard, Bucyrus; Chief Ray Allen, Toledo; Capt. D. W. Unkle, State Highway Patrol. National FOP President Jack Dudek attended the convention, but was not present when the picture was taken.

Too Many Hours Policeman Quits

Jerry J. Keron, president of Lorain lodge FOP, has resigned his job on the city's police force in protest for a 40-hour work week.

Keron, who tendered his resignation Nov. 1 said a 40-hour week would enable him to take a part-time job in order to earn money to "adequately provide the bare necessities for my wife and three children."

City Safety Director Peter Goohs said the 40-hour work week was passed by voters in 1951. Goohs pointed out, however, that the people failed to make provisions for financing the additional personnel needed to operate on a 40-hour-a-week schedule.

Keron, an ex-marine, had been a member of the Lorain, Ohio police force for five and a half years.